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ABSTRACT

The Advertising section of the Proceedings contains the following 18 papers: "The Birth of Adwatches: Political Advertising Becomes Front-Page News" (Jennifer Greer); "A Cross-Cultural Comparison of the Effects of Source Credibility on Attitudes and Behavioral Intentions" (Kak Yoon, Choong Hyun Kim, and Min-Sun Kim); "Perceptions of Japanese Advertising: A Q-Methodological Study of Advertising Practitioners in Japan" (Fritz Cropp); "Codes of Conduct: Public Images and Silent Voices" (Jean Grow vonDorn); "Using Sentence Importance Ratings for Investigating Effectiveness of Advertising Copy Blocks: A Preliminary Test" (Robert Meeds); "Adver-Thai-sing Standardization: Can a U.S. Study of Sex Role Portrayals Transcend Cultural Boundaries?" (Chompunuch Punyapiroje, Mariea Grubbs Hoy, and Margaret Morrison); "Preparing Students for Real-World Ethical Dilemmas: A Stakeholder Approach" (Anne Cunningham and Eric Haley); "Holistic Curriculum Assessment Case Study: Using Educators and Professionals to Evaluate Employment Qualifications of Recent Graduates" (Dennis James Ganahl); "Identifying Critical Teamwork Tools: One Way To Strike a Balance between Team Training and Course Content" (Brett Robbs and Larry Weisberg); "Assessing Advertising Effectiveness: A Comparison of Two Real-Time Measures of Ad Liking" (Fuyuan Shen); "Integrating Hypermedia Instruction into an Advertising Communications Graphics Classroom" (Stacy James); "Information Processing of Web Advertising: Modified Elaboration Likelihood Model" (Chang-Hoan Cho); "A New Taxonomy with Cultural Reflection for Comparative Advertising Styles" (Kazumi Hasegawa); "Cognitive Dissonance Theory and Advertising: It's Time for a New Look" (Don Umphrey); "Political Advertising and Candidate Appraisal: How Political Advertisements Prime Voters to Evaluate Candidates and Influence Vote Choice" (Qimei Chen, Christina L. Fiebich, and Jennifer L. Williams); "Differential Effects of Self-Assessed Consumer Knowledge and Objective Consumer Knowledge on Responses to Print Ads for Technical Products" (Robert Meeds); "The American Way to Menstruate: Feminine Hygiene Advertising and Adolescent Girls" (Debra Merskin); and "Advertising Educators' Textbook Adoption Practices" (Louisa Ha). (RS)

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The Birth of Adwatches:
Political advertising becomes front-page news

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The Birth of Adwatches: Political advertising becomes front-page news

Abstract

Political advertising, once virtually ignored by the newspapers, became the subject of journalists' attention following a perceived rash of "dirty" campaign commercials in the 1988 presidential race. A brigade of "ad cops" was deputized to police false and misleading statements contained in ads. The development of adwatches is reviewed in a historical context of political advertising and journalistic coverage. Emerging research on adwatches is detailed to shed light on this new form of political coverage.

For newspaper wire editors, the stories carried over the political wires on June 6, 1996, provided a vivid example of the recent revolution that had transformed campaign coverage in the United States. In an eight-hour block on that date, the Associated Press moved an article about Sen. Bob Dole's speech in Nashville, a brief article about a planned campaign appearance by President Bill Clinton in San Francisco, and a few other stories about statewide races. The mere smattering of stories about campaign appearances and strategy moved on that day was hardly surprising, given that the general election was still five months away. In this regard, the political news wire virtually mirrored the AP's political coverage during the same month in 1988.

But wire editors were faced with a whole new category of campaign stories to chose from in the 1996 election that was non-existent eight years prior. While the AP moved only two "traditional" campaign stories about the presidential race on June 6, 1996, the wire carried three major articles on political advertising--a story about Dole's advertising strategy, an "adwatch" of a Dole commercial, and an "adwatch" of a commercial aired in the Virginia Senate primary. The day's political news selection was typical of the AP's news coverage in the 1996 race. During the early Republican primaries, when several major candidates were vying for the party's nomination, the Associated Press' political wire routinely carried two or more adwatches a day.

The coverage of the 1996 races represents a new era in political reporting that began after the 1988 presidential election. The term "adwatch" was only been coined in 1990. But within six years, news coverage of political advertising--including adwatches--were almost on equal ground with "traditional" campaign news, such as coverage of debates and stump speeches. Adwatches are a device used by all types of news organizations to examine claims made in political advertising. Typically, adwatches are aimed at exposing "false" or "misleading" statements or visuals in campaign commercials that, in principle, can deceive voters. The journalistic rationale behind producing adwatches is that voters, trying to sort through competing claims in a sea of deceptive campaign commercials, can turn to a credible independent voice--the news media--for help in deciding what is true and what is not true.

Milburn and Brown (1995) call the adwatch "one of the most important journalistic developments in covering campaigns in recent years" (p. 9). While adwatches are revolutionizing campaign coverage, little is known about how they were developed, how they are used, and what effects they have on voters. Research on adwatches is still in its infancy. This paper aims to give journalists a framework in which to view adwatches by examining what is known to date about this new form of political communication. The paper is divided into two sections. First, the development of adwatches is traced. Second, the academic research that has recently emerged is reviewed. The paper concludes by discussing the implications of adwatches have on media's role in society.

The Birth of Adwatches

Advertising in U.S. elections

Political advertising has been an integral part of U.S. elections since shortly after the nation was formed. First came handbills, posters, and newspapers carrying messages about candidates. In the early 20th century, radio gave candidates the first mass medium to reach potential supporters (Gronbeck, 1992). Within a few decades, television became the medium of choice. In 1948, a slate of 60-second spot television ads was proposed as part of Thomas Dewey's campaign, but the candidate rejected the proposal (Mickelson, 1989). By the 1956 presidential race, both parties spent a combined total of more than $9 million on radio and television advertising (Jeffres, 1986). Today, campaign advertising has become virtually the entire campaign, especially at the presidential level (Squire, 1991). In 1992, the three major presidential candidates spent a total of $133 million on advertising, up to three-fourths of their total campaign budgets (Devlin, 1995).

Research has shown that the American electorate gets a significant portion of its information about candidates and issues from advertising (Weaver & Drew, 1993). Patterson and McClure (1976) found that viewers remembered more information from ads than from televised news about the 1972 campaign, despite being exposed to the ads for much shorter periods (also see Kern, 1989; West, 1993; Zhao & Bleske, 1995). Joslyn (1990) argued that campaign ads have educative potential to teach about candidates' personality traits, performance in office, and cultural icons. Martinelli and Chaffee (1995) found that new U.S. citizens learned about where the candidates stood on issues through political ads Just, Crigler, and Wallach (1990) also found that campaign ads helped voters learn about issue positions, even more so than exposure to a lengthy debate. Campaign ads also are seen as an important source of information for disconnected, less informed voters (Owen, 1991).

More and more, messages contained in campaign commercials are negative. Negative ads—also called attack ads—are defined as spots that make unflattering or pejorative comments about other candidates' personal qualities, policy stances, or performance on domestic and international affairs (West, 1993). Kaid and Johnston (1991) found that only 7 percent of the ads in the 1960 presidential contest were negative. From 1968 to 1976, the percentage of negative ads hovered at about 25 percent. Beginning with the 1980 race, however, candidates have routinely attacked in more than 35 percent of their ads (Kaid & Johnston, 1991). During the 1988 and 1990 campaigns, attack ads were the norm rather than the exception (Hagstrom & Guskind, 1992). In 1992, about half of each presidential candidate's advertising budget was spent on negative ads (Devlin, 1993).

The Turning Point: 1988

The 1988 presidential race is seen as a watershed election both in terms of candidates' use of negative political advertising and in journalistic coverage of campaign advertising. About 38 percent of George Bush's ads were negative, while 49 percent of Michael Dukakis ads were negative (Kaid, Gobetz, Garner, Leland, & Scott, 1993). While the numbers of negative spots did not increase significantly compared with past presidential races, the media, the candidates, and the public all perceived a saturation of attack ads. Researchers have offered several explanations for this perception. Gronbeck (1992) argues that negative advertising is usually reserved for late in the campaign, beginning a month or two before Election Day. In 1988, negative ads first appeared in mid-summer and came in a steady stream until Election Day. In addition, the ads were seen as more negative and more inaccurate than any used in the past. Jamieson begins her 1992 revision to Packaging the Presidency with this assertion: "Never before in a presidential campaign have televised ads sponsored by a major party candidate lied so blatantly as in the campaign of 1988" (1992b, p. xix).

From the time political advertising first emerged until only recently, it had been a distinct part of campaigns, separate from news coverage and other campaign events. But in 1988, ads began to shape news coverage routinely for the first time. Republicans, largely through advertising, defined campaign issues for the media and voters in the 1988 race, as well as for Dukakis. The Bush camp, through its ads, even defined the vocabulary used by the news media in covering the campaign. Jamieson (1992a) points to the famous "Willie Horton" ad as a vivid example. Although Horton's name was listed as William on all of his official records and he went by the name William, the commercial identified him as "Willie," the name used by virtually all news organizations during the election. "Where news once contextualized ads, visually evocative and easily edited oppositional ads . . . now have the capacity to shape the language for news" (Jamieson, 1992a, p. 135).

Journalist Response: The Ad Cops are Deputized

Journalists are trained to think of themselves as the public's "watchdogs," exposing corruption and ensuring that government functions efficiently and in the public's best interests. In theory, journalists covering campaigns expose character flaws and inaccurate candidate claims in an attempt to help voters make the most informed choice on Election Day. This "watchdog" role recently has been extended to political advertising.

Although campaign coverage by news organizations first arose after George Washington left office in 1796 (Stebenne, 1993), journalists have only recently begun reporting on political advertising. Reporters first made news out of political advertising in the 1964 Johnson-Goldwater race, reporting on Johnson's "Daisy Girl" attack ad. The commercial was broadcast only once, on September 7, 1964 (Jamieson, 1992b). But all three networks re-broadcast the entire ad in their nightly newscasts (West, 1993). Until recently, however, political advertising rarely was deemed a subject to be covered on the same level as debates and campaign appearances, which receive almost daily examination. A few stories included discussions of candidates' advertising strategy, and a few ad critiques were produced. But those "were so tame as to be almost worthless" (Alter, 1990). Before the 1992 presidential election, Rachlin noted: "Perhaps the most specific and tangible criticism of media coverage of past campaigns has been that the media didn't do sufficient analytical evaluation of candidate advertising" (1992, p. 33). But the growing number of negative spots and the enormous budgets spent on advertising, especially 1988, caused journalists to take notice.

Journalists seemed almost embarrassed by missing the value of ads in the Bush-Dukakis race and stumbling in their role as watchdog. John Funk of the *The Plain Dealer* in Cleveland wrote: "That it took the Willie Horton spots of the 1988 presidential campaign to alert print journalists to the consequences of these unchallenged media campaigns underscores how out of touch we are with the society we pretend to serve" (Wolinsky, Sparks, Funk, Rooney, Lyon, & Sweet, 1991, p. 24). The Associated Press' John Wholman echoed Funk's critique: "One lesson from 1988 was that we were spending too much time on the candidate's day and not enough on the paid political advertising that was a main source of information for many, if not most, Americans" (quoted in Rachlin, 1992, p. 33).

Following the Bush-Dukakis contest, media commentators challenged their peers to do a better job of policing political advertising (Broder, 1989; Hinerfeld, 1990). Even the advertising industry urged changes. For example, Advertising Age suggested that the Advertising Council prepare public service announcements reminding voters that political commercials are almost never the whole truth (Garfield, 1990). Reformers argued that it was the news media's role as public watchdog to force the candidates to behave more responsibility (Smith, 1990). The solution, they argued, was to deputize journalists, creating an elite core of "ad cops" to patrol the campaign advertising beat. Not only did news organizations become ad police, identifying suspected offenders, they also served as prosecutors, presenting arguments on how the advertising was false or misleading.

The form of choice to present these arguments were "adwatches," defined as "media critiques of candidate ads designed to inform the public about truthful or misleading advertising claims" (Kaid, McKinnon, & Tedesco, 1995, p. 3). The term adwatch has been used to describe everything from general news stories about overall advertising tactics in a campaign to critiques of claims made in one or more specific campaign commercials. The latter, also called "truth boxes" or "reality checks," became widely used by many news outlets critiquing ads Journalists saw the new technique as a wrench they could hurl at the powerful political ad machines. In this view, adwatches could "institutionalize scrutiny of campaign ads and highlight distortions and inaccuracies for otherwise unsuspecting viewers and readers" (Lichter & Noyes, 1995, p. 137).

The first adwatches appeared in a limited number of regional media outlets during the 1990 congressional and statewide races. Adwatches appeared in newspapers, in magazines, on radio, and on television. During that election, Alter (1990) observed that political reporters were spending more time in the library checking out ad claims than on the stump. The new technique generated much attention among the journalistic community. Trade magazines and publications wrote about news organizations' success with adwatches, and a Barone Center report praised early adwatches, dubbing them a political and commercial success (Hume, 1991).

With the trial run in 1990, journalists were ready to use adwatches widely in the 1992 presidential race. "The news media entered the election year with a distinct 'state of mind,' which was clearly a product of much soul-searching in the aftermath of a performance in 1988 that was almost universally condemned as dismal" (Alger, 1994). A survey taken before the 1992 election found that 60 percent of local television news directors planned to expand coverage of the accuracy of local political advertising (Wicks & Kern, 1993).

Some suggest that journalists took aim at campaign advertising primarily because they were feeling "out of the loop." Roger Ailes, a media adviser to George Bush, said the change in journalists' attitudes toward covering political advertising was brought about because "journalists, who had begun to feel ignored, decided to go on the offensive" (Wolinsky et al., 1991, p. 27). Candidates and their campaign managers see political ads as a form of campaign communication that is entirely within their control. As candidates turned to more direct communication with the voters, journalists began to scrutinize these messages just as they had in the past with campaign speeches or news conferences. For example, after an onslaught of political ads in California state races, the *Los Angeles Times* moved to "balance the equation" with truth boxes. Leo C. Wolinsky, the paper's political editor, said the analyses were intended to "embarrass campaigns into more accurately portraying the candidates and their positions" (Wolinsky et al., 1991, p. 22).

Midway through the 1992 presidential contest, a survey found that 85 percent of reporters and editors approved of news coverage of political commercials (Times Mirror, 1992). After the election, that approval rating dropped only slightly, to 77 percent favoring of ad coverage. Most respondents said they saw "truth-telling" as a legitimate role for journalists. Many reporters and editors surveyed said they thought adwatches influenced the type of advertising that candidates used in the race. One television newsman told the researchers in 1992 that such propaganda debunking "is the primary reason why no Willie Horton ads or their cousins have appeared in this campaign. Our coverage is keeping the bastards honest" (Times Mirror, 1993, p. 3). Even those who were wary of the media's broad new role at least favored the technique to expose outright "lies" in ads (Lichter & Noyes, 1995).

The move to ad "truth squads" was driven not only by news organizations, but also by the public. Media critic Jonathan Alter described two rebellions in American politics in the early 1990s: one, against politics as usual, and the second against media as usual (quoted in Pease, 1992). The whole system of modern campaign coverage was under attack in 1992. Not only were voters anti-government, they were also anti-media. "The model of campaign coverage that had developed over the past four decades had itself come under mounting criticism, some from the very same journalists, editors, pollsters, pundits and politicians who had shaped it, and, perhaps more importantly, from the electorate itself" (Stebenne, 1993, p. 90). Anecdotal evidence suggests that the public was quite aware of the new role the media took on in response to attack advertising's increasingly prominent role in the campaign. In a focus group conducted by Alger, Kern, and West (1993) one participant stated: "There's one thing about the media in this election, I think more so that, when they know an ad is misleading, they come out and tell ya, more during this campaign than in previous ones. You know, they'll tell you why it is that it's misleading, and they'll tell you the source where they got the information" (p. 12).

Ironically, journalists' efforts to police misleading campaign commercials may have backfired. Kaid et al. (1993) argue that news coverage of advertising legitimizes ads as an information source in the minds of voters and to broadens the audience exposed to the message. "Increased coverage by television news may be an important reason for the growing importance of television ads" (p. 281). Consultants, realizing this, have begun to construct ads that they know will receive news coverage. "You get a 30 to 40 percent bump out of ads by getting on the news," Ailes said. "You get more viewers, you get credibility" (quoted in West, 1993, p. 14). Political consultants also began to use the "facts" presented in adwatches as ammunition in their counter-attack ads, taking information that might never have been seen by a wide audience and running it repeatedly in ads placed in high-profile time slots (National Journal, 1990). In an ironic twist, journalists themselves often were "misquoted" in the ads as the campaigns flashed headlines and quoted reporting from the news media out of context (Goodman, 1990; Ansolabehere & Iyengar, 1995).

In addition, adwatches almost always focused on negative ads, which made voters see the campaigns as more negative than they actually were. This negative picture may have a demobilizing effect on the electorate in the long run. Garramone, Atkin, Pinkleton, and Cole (1990) found that exposure to negative ads did not depress political participation. But Ansolabehere. Iyengar, Simon, and Valentino (1994) found just the opposite. That study found that exposure to negative advertisements reduced subjects' intentions to vote by 5 percent. In addition, the negative campaign exposure decreased political efficacy and made voters more cynical, the researchers found.

But even more serious, some media critics contend, is the change that adwatches and other new forms of political "analysis" represent in the traditional role of the press. Lichter and Noyes (1995) see this new form of journalism as a sharp departure from the "objective" coverage of political contests that reporters had sought for decades prior to 1992. Journalists used to see their job as informing the public, getting the facts straight and reporting what politicians said and did. Today, Lichter contends, "the priorities have been reversed, and journalists think their main job is to tell the public that the politicians are fooling them and explain how" (quoted in Hernandez, 1996, p. 12). Rosenstiel (1993) argued that this new role transformed the relationship between the news media and candidates by changing the political reporter from "a color commentator up in the booth to a referee down on the field," meaning the press not only reflected events, but also shaped them (p. 273). Fallows (1996) also castigates reporters for substituting reporting with political "analysis," which has served to perpetuate an overly suspicious view of candidates' motives.

Finally, Lichter and Noyes contend, adwatches represented a blending of commentary and news that, although eschewed in the past, was rationalized as "truth-telling" and seen as a public service. "The news went boldly where only editorials had gone before, and news organizations instituted 'adwatches' and 'reality checks' to keep them honest. The result was some of the least balanced, most negative, and most opinionated coverage in the era of mediated elections" (Lichter & Noyes, 1995, xvii). The authors also argue that adwatches rarely corrected falsehoods but merely replaced the campaign's interpretation of ambiguous "facts" with the writer's own interpretations. "By painting with broad brush strokes . . . the networks' 'ad police' sometimes resembled vigilantes more than sheriffs" (Lichter & Noyes, 1995, p. 139). Patterson (1993) reminds journalists that "news and truth are not the same thing" (p. 29). Jay Rosen, a New York University professor often called the father of "public journalism," shares Patterson's view. Fact-checking has been put on the back burner in recent elections as reporters became more eager to provide "analysis." According to Rosen, adwatches "became new forums for reporters to show their savviness" (see Canellos, 1996, p. 7).

Adwatch Research

The emergence of adwatches has not escaped notice from political communication researchers. In the past three years, academic research has begun to emerge examining how adwatches are being used by media organizations and what effects adwatches have on voters. To date, only a handful of studies have examined this emerging form of political communication. Most adwatch research has focused on the presidential level (Kern et al., 1993; West, Kern, & Alger, 1992; McKinnon, Kaid, Murphy & Acree, 1996; Alger et al., 1993; Kaid et al., 1995; Cappella & Jamieson, 1994) Only two studies have examined adwatches at the statewide level (Pfau & Louden, 1994; O'Sullivan & Geiger, 1995). To date, no published research has examined adwatches for local races. Researchers have used a variety of methods--content analyses, surveys, and experiments--to study adwatches. Studies using each of these methods, and the findings produced, will be discussed in turn.

Content Analyses

Many of the adwatch studies have used content analyses to examine the occurrence and type of political adwatches produced by the news media. The first content analysis of political advertising coverage appeared in 1975. In a study of newspaper advertising coverage during the 1972 presidential race, Bowers (1975) found few print media articles about advertising. The few that were published dealt with ad strategies, not the content of a specific ad or ads.

Kaid et al. (1993) conducted the first content analysis of televised news coverage of political advertising. After reviewing 1,802 network television news stories for presidential contests from 1972 to 1988, the researchers documented a sharp increase in the number of stories mentioning or dealing solely with campaign advertising. Only 13 network news stories mentioned candidate commercials in 1972. That number jumped to 79 in 1988, more than three times as the election with the next highest number of advertising-related news stories, 1980 (see Kaid et al., 1993, Table 1, p. 278). Most of these stories were not adwatches--used in this paper to describe a "fact-based" critique of one or more specific ads--but merely mentioned advertising in routine campaign reports. In fact, only 19 of the stories--15 percent of the total 131 identified by the researchers as dealing with political commercials--focused exclusively on campaign advertising. Nearly half of those 19 were broadcast during the 1988 contest alone. The study also found that networks were more likely to cover negative ads than positive ones in the 1988 race. More than 77 percent of the advertising stories broadcast that year contained a clip from a negative ad, while only 35 percent of the stories aired part or all of a positive ad.[1]

Kaid et al. (1995) extended their research to include the 1992 race. Television news directors had professed intentions before the election to expand coverage of political advertising. But Kaid's follow-up study showed a drop in the number of network adwatch segments in 1992. The researchers examined all political advertising features appearing on the three networks from Labor Day (September 6) to Election Day (November 2), 1992, and found 44 feature stories that discussed candidate advertising. The study examined slant of coverage, finding more than half of the features (56.8 percent) neutral, 36.4 percent with a negative slant, and only 6.3 percent with a positive slant. Again, networks were most likely to critique negative ads, with nearly half (47.7 percent) of the news features discussing negative ads while 29.5 percent focused on positive ads.[2] Stories about independent candidate Ross Perot's ads dominated the network coverage. Perot ads accounted for 43.2 percent of the stories; George Bush ads were featured in 20.5 percent; and Bill Clinton ads were the focus of 6.8 percent of the stories.[3]

McKinnon et al. (1996), a group that included Kaid, took the same approach in analyzing newspaper adwatches. The researchers reviewed adwatches printed in five newspapers during the 1992 presidential, congressional and Senate races. The researchers identified 126 stories (63 features on advertising and 59 adwatches or "truth boxes," and four combination articles). The findings paralleled those of network ad coverage. For example, the majority of newspaper articles (62 percent) focused on a negative ads, while 33 percent examined positive ads. Also, the vast majority of the advertising coverage (87 percent of the stories) was coded as neutral, while 10 percent were coded as having a negative slant and 3 percent as having a positive slant. Interestingly, the newspaper coverage of advertising dealt not with local races, where newspaper articles could potentially have a great effect on voters, but with national and statewide contests. About 70 percent of the articles analyzed ads by presidential candidates and 22 percent focused on ads in Senate races. Advertising stories on House races, other contests, and a combination of races accounted for only 8 percent of the total. About 76 percent of the stories included either all or part of the advertising copy when critiquing the ad. McKinnon et al. looked only at ad coverage during the 1992 presidential race, meaning no trend analysis could be performed for newspapers as had been done by Kaid et al. (1995).

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[1] Several news stories broadcast parts of more than one advertisement.

[2] The remaining 22.8 percent of the adwatches could not be identified as either negative or positive.

[3] The remaining 26.9 percent did not discuss a specific ad or discussed a combination of candidate ads.

Kern et al. (1993) also studied news coverage of 1992 presidential advertising, using content analysis to examine both ads and adwatches. Kern and her colleagues used a broader set of adwatches than was used in either of the content analyses described above. The researchers analyzed articles and ads from the three television networks, CNN, local television newscasts, and newspaper coverage in four markets. The review found 93 nationally televised advertising stories during the campaign. Twenty-five of the stories were aired during the primary season (January to June 6), 21 during the summer months, and 47 during the general election (September 1 through Election Day). During the primary season, only 50 percent of the stories covering political advertising tried to evaluate the ads as opposed to describing simply what the commercials said. In the general election, 76 percent of the advertising stories evaluated the ads. In contrast to Kaid's findings, Kern discovered that Perot ads actually received less scrutiny from the media because his ads were evaluated mainly by the less critical standard of the primary season. The researchers also found that the ads themselves were aired in more than half of the 1992 televised stories about advertising, which could potentially amplify candidate advertising messages.

Surveys

Kern et al. (1993) went beyond analyzing content to look at public opinion surveys conducted in four local markets in which advertisements and ad coverage were studied. To date, it is the only known study to use a survey to examine the influence of adwatches on voters.[4] Telephone surveys were conducted with more than 4,000 individuals in the four markets during the primary season, the summer, and the general campaign.

About half of the respondents reported seeing news stories on political advertising during the spring and summer, while more than 60 percent said they had seen news coverage of advertising during the October survey. Most respondents said they saw this coverage on television. On average, about 15 percent of the respondents said the coverage was very helpful, 40 percent classified it as somewhat helpful, and about 45 percent said the coverage was not helpful.[5] These rankings showed that voters saw adwatches as a source of political information equal to ads themselves and to general campaign news. Voters also reported "that adwatches were a more significant information source than the 'newest' information phenomenon of the 1992 election campaign, the extended news format" (Kern et al., 1993,

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[4] West, Kern, and Alger (1992) also reported survey results in their findings. The researchers used the same data set reported in the Kern et al. study.

[5] This is a broad generalization of the findings. For specific figures for each market on during each of the survey periods see Kern et al. (1993) Table 1.

p. 19). The researchers concluded that exposure to adwatches caused voters to evaluate the leadership abilities of Bush and Clinton more positively.

Experimental Designs

Researchers have recently moved beyond simply describing what adwatches look like and when they appear. Studies have begun to ask whether adwatches are actually doing what journalists intend--that is making voters more critical of campaign advertisements and the claims they make. While the survey conducted by Kern et al. (1993) provides a good starting point for assessing the influence newspaper adwatches have on attitudes toward candidates, experimental designs often provide a clearer picture of media effects. A few recent studies, all published since 1994, have used experimental designs to examine the effects of adwatch exposure on voter attitudes toward campaign ads and candidates.

Cappella and Jamieson (1994) conducted a controlled field experiment to examine the effects of adwatches on attitudes toward the source of the ad, the target of the ad, the ad itself, and recall and interpretation of the ad's content. The stimulus, a televised Pat Buchanan ad that ran during the 1992 Michigan primary, attacked George Bush and his advisers. The researchers recruited 165 subjects from a wide range of racial, age, and educational groups in 11 U.S. cities. The study examined manipulations of varying number of exposures to the ad, adwatch production techniques used to "correct" the ad, and the number of days between viewing the adwatch and being asked to evaluate the Buchanan ad. Comparing the experimental conditions with a control group showed that exposure to an adwatch caused subjects to view the targeted ad as less fair and less important. In addition, those viewing a televised adwatch held more negative attitudes toward Buchanan than subjects in the control group. The adwatches had no effect, however, on the object of the attack (Bush) nor on interpretation of the ad's content.

An interesting finding produced by the Cappella and Jamieson experiment was that subjects who saw the adwatches before being exposed to the Buchanan ad were more critical of the ad than those who saw the adwatch after the political ad. "Once political ads have had the opportunity to work on the audience, and the opportunity to frame the issue has passed, the effects of later adwatches might be less consequential," the researchers conclude (p. 358).

In contrast to Cappella and Jamieson's findings, the Pfau and Louden (1994). found that adwatches were not effective in making voters more "savvy consumers" of political advertising claims. Pfau and Louden (1994) examined the effect of different televised adwatch formats in deflecting the influence of targeted political attack ads. The experiment, which used 340 Wake Forest University students as subjects, examined the effectiveness of different formats of televised adwatches in checking two ads aired in the 1992 North Carolina gubernatorial race. Subjects who viewed a full-screen rebroadcast of 15 seconds of the ad as part of the adwatch actually held a more positive emotional response to the candidate sponsoring the ad, held a more positive attitude toward the commercial, and reported being more likely to vote for the commercial's sponsoring candidate than subjects in the control group. Their conclusion was that adwatches using a full-screen rebroadcast of the ad--a common technique among many television news organizations--had a "boomerang" effect. Instead of casting the television commercial in a negative light, rebroadcasting even part of the ad during the adwatch segment reinforced the ad's content, allowing viewers to recall more of the commercial and to hold a more positive attitude toward the ad and its sponsoring candidate. The boomerang was most pronounced among female viewers.

Part of the problem, the researchers concluded, what that subjects had trouble distinguishing a news report about an ad from the ad itself. Boot (1989) echoed this thinking while writing about the coverage of the Bush-Dukakis contest: "Confusion was compounded in 1988 by a proliferation of television news reports about commercials, of commercials inspired by news reports, and of commercials about commercials" (p. 29).

Ansolabehere and Iyengar (1995) also documented the potential for adwatches to backfire or boomerang. In three experiments, which exposed subjects to actual CNN adwatch stories from the 1992 presidential contest, the researchers asked 330 subjects to rate the candidates according to several traits--intelligence, integrity, diligence, and compassion--and to indicate which candidate they would be more likely to vote for. In each case, the candidates whose advertisements were criticized gained support. Adwatches aimed at negative commercials seemed to give the candidates an even bigger boost, according to the study. Exposure to an adwatch also caused non-partisan voters to register a significant increase in their sense of alienation and cynicism.[6]

Ansolabehere and Iyengar concluded that the boomerang was the result of CNN's tactic of repeating the ads' themes in their adwatches. Repeating the ad's content caused the adwatch to strengthen recall of the ad claims, making the favorable information about the candidate more accessible in memory. The authors conclude:

> This new form of campaign journalism has a long way to go before it realizes its stated objectivity of empowering voters. It becomes almost amusing to see how exposure to adwatch reports boosts support for the "targeted" advertiser and therefore plays into the hands of the candidates (Ansolabehere and Iyengar, 1995, p. 15).

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[6] Adwatch exposure had no such effect on Republican and Democratic subjects.

While these findings seem vastly different from the Cappella and Jamieson (1994) study described above, Jamieson has argued the results actually are consistent with her research. The adwatches used in Ansolabehere and Iyengar's laboratory experiment concluded that the ads being reviewed were basically true, therefore the respondents thought more highly of the candidates. In contrast, the adwatches used in the Cappella and Jamieson experiment concluded the ad was deceptive, causing respondents to think less of the candidate. Therefore, the content of the adwatches is what drove the different findings, she argued. "Both of us have found that the adwatches work as they were intended--they contextualize the ad," Jamieson said in a recent television interview (quoted in Shaw, 1996).

But discrepant findings on adwatch effects have been produced by other studies. Pfau and Burgoon's (1988) work on inoculation messages suggested that newspaper adwatches might blunt the effectiveness of attack ads. Milburn and Brown's (1995) experimental study concluded that adwatch columns in the 1992 presidential race may have helped viewers critically process advertising information. Geiger (1993), in contrast, found that truth boxes produced weak to no effects about candidate evaluations. The small effects that were found showed that over time, truth boxes gave a subtle boost to the candidate's image, regardless whether the truth box information supported or refuted the claims of the ad being critiqued. Geiger urged more research on adwatches, particularly on the content of the adwatches themselves.

O'Sullivan and Geiger (1995) followed that suggestion and examined whether varying the content of an adwatch produced different effects on voters' perceptions of candidates. Using an experimental method with 112 undergraduate students as subjects, the researchers studied for four statewide races. O'Sullivan and Geiger manipulated whether the adwatch articles confirmed or contradicted a candidate's ad claims and claims made in an opponent's ad. Subjects who were exposed to an adwatch supporting a candidate's attack on an opponent and subjects exposed to an adwatch contradicting an opponent's attack gave the candidate significantly higher marks for character, ability, and liking. In contrast, when adwatches contradicted a candidate's attack ad or supported an opponent's attack ad, evaluations of the candidate's character, ability, and liking were significantly lower. "This indicates that newspaper critiques of attack ads can be a powerful determinant of how the ads affect people's assessments of candidates" (O'Sullivan & Geiger, 1995, p. 780). In sum, research on adwatch effects has produced mixed results. While some studies have found that exposure to adwatches can affect attitudes toward political advertisements and the sponsoring candidate, other studies have found just the opposite.

Conclusion

Much is still unknown about adwatches. For example, adwatches may impacts in the political arena in ways not yet examined. Exposure to adwatches might make voters view the importance of political advertising in general differently, change attitudes toward the role of the media, examine the electoral process in a new light, or reconsider their own role in a democratic society. Adwatches also could have vast influence beyond the voters. In addition to assisting the voters, adwatches are designed to serve as checks on the candidates and their campaign staffs. This function goes to the heart of journalists' role as watchdogs. Many questions remain ripe for future adwatch research.

Journalists also should consider several questions. To compete in a profit-driven industry, news organizations often feel pressure to start new features, play new roles, and offer new services simply to keep up with the competition. As a result, those running the news organizations often do not have the luxury to reflect on the changes until after they have become well established, at which point they are very difficult to change. This may have been the case with adwatches. The features were introduced in 1990 by a limited number of news outlets, which received accolades from the industry and outside observers. Many other outlets took notice and followed suit throughout the first half of the decade. Now, four years after adwatches became a well-established feature in media coverage of U.S. elections, journalists should step back and assess the feature. First, are adwatches worth the time, resources, and space that have been devoted to them in the past? Second, and perhaps more important, is producing adwatches a "proper" role for the press to play in elections?

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A Cross-cultural Comparison of the Effects of Source Credibility on Attitudes and Behavioral Intentions

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A Cross-cultural Comparison of the Effects of Source Credibility on Attitudes and Behavioral Intentions

Abstract

This paper investigated: 1) whether the dimensionality of source credibility is applicable to Koreans; 2) which dimensions exerted more influence on dependent variables. Findings suggest that the dimensionality of source credibility was remarkably similar between the two samples. The influence of three source credibility dimensions varied by dependent variables. Attractiveness, expertise, and trustworthiness were equally important to purchase intentions. All three dimensions affected involvement with the ad message. Only trustworthiness had a significant impact on attitude toward the brand and brand beliefs. In terms of attitude toward the ad, perceived attractiveness of the endorser was more important than expertise and trustworthiness. Implications of the findings are discussed.

A Cross-cultural Comparison of the Effects of Source Credibility on Attitudes and Behavioral Intentions

Introduction

Many ads feature well-known athletes, actors and other famous people as product endorsers to influence consumer perceptions and purchase intentions of the advertised brands. Communication scholars and advertising practitioners seem to share the belief that the perceived attributes or characters of product endorsers influence the persuasive effects of the ads. This belief dates back to Hovland, Janis, and Kelly's (1953) research which contended that who said it is as important as what is being said. As such, the use of celebrities as spokespeople for the advertised brands is a popular method of advertising (Ohanian 1991). The rationale of paying millions of dollars to these actors and athletes, of course, is that these message "sources" will add "credibility" to the advertisement. The added credibility of the advertisement due to the celebrity endorsement will in turn enhance consumers' attitude toward the ad (Aad).

Many researchers have demonstrated that Aad influences consumers' attitude toward the advertised brand (see, for example, Gardner 1985; Homer 1990; MacKenzie and Lutz 1989; MacKenzie, Lutz and Belch 1986; Miniard, Bhatla and Rose 1990; Mitchell and Olson 1981; Mittal 1990; Muehling, Laczniak and Stoltman 1991; Park and Young 1986; Yoon, Laczniak, Muehling, and Reece 1995). They have also found a robust evidence that brand attitude (Ab) influences purchase intentions (PI). A particularly noteworthy model in this stream of research is what is commonly known as the "Dual Mediation Hypotheses (DMH)" originally proposed by Lutz (1985) and later modified by Miniard, Bhatla and Rose (1990) and Yoon et al. (1995). The basic premise of the DMH is that consumers' purchase intentions are influenced by both Ab and Aad (either directly or indirectly through Aad's influence on Ab).

Numerous studies have shown that the construct of source credibility consists of several underlying dimensions as explained later. While it is widely accepted that the perceived source credibility of an ad can influence the viewer's Aad, there is virtually no research that investigated which dimension of source credibility exerts more influence on Aad. Given the important role Aad plays in determining viewers' brand attitude and purchase intentions, one objective of this paper is to investigate the effect of the source credibility dimensions on Aad. This study will also examine how the dimensions of source credibility affects subjects' message involvement, brand beliefs, Ab, and PI, treating them all as the dependent variables that are being influenced by source credibility.

The second objective of this research is to examine if the underlying dimensions of source credibility found mostly in the U.S. will also emerge in a widely different culture. For this purpose Korea was selected based on several reasons. In recent years, Korea has become a major trading partner for the United States and other industrialized nations with her rapid economic growth (Hynson 1991). In 1994, Korea became one of the world's ten largest advertisers with advertising expenditures totaling $4.8 billion (Pruzan 1995). In addition, Korea represents an interesting and yet relatively neglected country for cross-cultural advertising research because of the cultural differences between Korea and the U.S. reported in the literature. Hofstede (1991), for example, studied 53 countries in terms of individualism and collectivism and concluded that the United States has the most individualistic culture, and that Korea represents one of the most collectivistic cultures in the world, with a ranking of 43 out of the 53 countries. Some international communication scholars (Cross 1995; Gudykunst et al. 1996; Kim, Sharkey, and Singelis 1994; Markus and Kitayama 1991), however, recently have criticized this simple dichotomous categorization of countries as either individualistic or collectivistic. They make a valid assertion that it is important to realize the existence of individual differences within a culture. We will, therefore, measure subjects' individualism and collectivism instead of just assuming that the American subjects are individualistic and the Korean subjects are collectivisitc.

The commonly reported influence of source credibility on the dependent variables may be different in different cultures. For example, a message source perceived as an expert might be more persuasive than a source perceived as trustworthy in certain cultures. Similarly, a trustworthy source might be more effective in other cultures in eliciting more positive reactions to the ad and the advertised brand. Yet, empirical evidence regarding this important issue is scant. Therefore, the third and final objective of the research is to examine if the dimensions of source credibility on the dependent variables will be the same between the two different ethnic groups.

Source Credibility and its Dimensions

According to Anderson (1971), source credibility can be conceptualized as a "weight" that can enhance the value of information in a message. There is ample research evidence to support a main effect of source credibility such that a highly credible communication source is more effective than a less credible source in causing positive attitude change and behavioral intentions (Gotlieb and Sarel 1991; Homer and Kahle 1990; Ward and McGinnies 1974; Woodside and Davenport 1974). The effectiveness of a highly credible source, however, has been found to be moderated by some contextual factors. For example, the main effect of source increases when a highly credible source is identified early in the message (Greenberg and Miller 1966; Ward and McGinnies 1974), and use of evidence can increase the influence of a low credibility source (McCrosky 1969, 1970). In addition, the effectiveness of source credibility has been found to be moderated by some receiver characteristics including the locus of control, authoritarianism, involvement, and extremity of initial attitude (see Haley 1996 for a detailed discussion of these variables). For instance, highly authoritarian people tend to be more influenced by high credibility sources (Bettinghaus et al. 1970; Harvey and Hays 1972). Johnson and Scileppi (1969) suggested that individuals highly involved with the issue are relatively immune to the effect of source credibility. In other words, people with low involvement may simply accept or reject the message on the basis of source without carefully examining the arguments. Dholakia and Sternthal (1977) found that people with initial positive attitudes toward the advocated position were more influenced by a less credible source and people with initial negative attitudes toward the advocated issue were more persuaded by a more credible source.

In addition to studying the role of source credibility in the persuasion process, a considerable amount of attention has been paid to what constitutes source credibility. These studies have identified expertness and trustworthiness (Hovland and Weiss 1951) safety, qualification, and dynamism (Berlo, Lemert, and Mertz 1969), trustworthiness and competence (Bowers and Phillips 1967), authoritativeness and character (McCroskey 1966) as possible dimensions of source credibility. Although various dimensions of source credibility have been proposed, most of the studies suggest that expertise and trustworthiness are two of the most important and enduring components of source credibility. In the advertising context, attractiveness has also been suggested as a component of source credibility in addition to expertise and trustworthiness (cf. McCracken 1989; Ohanian 1990).

Expertise refers to the perceived ability of a source to make valid assertions about the issue at hand (Hovland, Janis, and Kelley 1953; McCracken 1989). Trustworthiness derives from the perceived sincerity, honesty, and objectivity of the information source, and it has been conceptualized as the perceived willingness of the source to make valid assertions (McCracken 1989). The attractiveness dimension refers to the perceived familiarity, likability, and/or similarity of the source to the receiver (McGuire 1985). According to McCracken (1989), sources who are well known to, liked by, and similar to the receiver tend to be perceived more attractive, and these sources are more successful in producing positive beliefs (Chaiken 1979) and positive product evaluation (Joseph 1982).

Despite the well documented dimensionality of source credibility, typical advertising studies have treated source credibility as a unidimensional construct. As

Ohanian (1990) pointed out "often when reference is made to a credible celebrity spokesperson, no distinction is made among the expertise, trustworthiness, or attractiveness of the spokesperson (p. 47)." An endorser (either a celebrity or an organization), however, can be perceived as an expert but not trustworthy (e.g., a corrupt politician), or not an expert but trustworthy (e.g., a minister). Also, an attractive source (e.g., a movie star) can be perceived as an expert or non-expert, trustworthy or untrustworthy, or a combination thereof. Given the possibility of various combinations, it is important to understand the role of the three components in determining the perceived credibility of a source for developing an advertising strategy. It should be noted, however, that the source credibility studies were originally devised for the study of communication messages and only recently researchers began to examine the role of source credibility in the advertising processing context. As such, the number of studies using source credibility in the advertising context is not as big as the communication studies. The following section will briefly examine the effects of the three dimensions of source credibility on persuasion and behavioral intentions focusing more on the advertising field.

Experimental studies on the effect of expertise aspect of source credibility on attitude change has a long history. There is a considerable amount of literature demonstrating that a source's perceived expertise in the form of knowledge, education, intelligence, social status, professional achievement can enhance the persuasive power of the message (see Hovland, Janis, and Kelley, 1953, Chapter 2, for a review). Indeed, the power of expertise is so strong it was found to affect persuasion even when the area of expertise is irrelevant to the issue being involved (McGuire 1968).

In contrast, the role of trustworthiness in the persuasive process is less well documented. In a review piece, McGuire (1968) pointed out that the "objectivity" or trustworthiness aspect of source credibility had been less successfully demonstrated in experimental studies. In fact, he concluded that evidence for a trustworthiness component "is small almost to the vanishing point" (p. 185). In the review piece, McGuire (1968) summarized that "the perceived-competence aspect adds to persuasive impact more than the trustworthiness aspect does (p. 187)."

In the advertising context, many studies confirmed the strong role source credibility played in the persuasion process. It has been found that consumers discount the advertisement less when the ad featured a high credibility source (Gotlieb and Sarel 1992; Mizerski, Golden, and Kernan 1979; Sparkman and Locander 1980). High credibility source produced enhanced product perception (Harmon and Coney 1982) and attitude toward the ad (Atkin and Block 1983). Homer and Kahle (1990) pointed out that the evidence demonstrating high expertise sources being more persuasive than low expertise sources is "convincing enough that most research on source credibility focuses on determining the limits of the phenomenon and identifying factors that interact with it" (p. 31). For example, a moderately credible source was found to be more persuasive than a highly credible source when subjects' initial disposition to the issue was favorable (Sternthal, Dholakia, and Leavitt 1978). Homer and Kahle (1990) reported that the effect of expert source on subjects' message evaluations was greater when the subjects' involvement with the message was higher. It should be pointed out, however, that these studies did not examine the effect of the two source credibility aspects (expertise and trustworthiness) in the persuasive process separately. Only two studies examined the effects of trustworthiness and expertise on persuasion separately, and moreover the results are mixed.

Ohanian (1991) investigated the impact of a celebrity's attractiveness, trustworthiness, and expertise on a subject's purchase intention of the endorsed product. She found that the perceived expertise of the celebrity was the only significant factor that influenced purchase intentions of the endorsed product. Although not in an advertising context, McGinnies and Ward (1980), on the other hand, found that trustworthiness was a more important factor than expertise in eliciting more attitude change. These conflicting findings certainly warrant further research. Therefore, this paper will examine the effect of the three dimensions of source credibility on most commonly used advertising variables such as brand beliefs, Aad, Ab, and PI. In addition, we will examine how source credibility affects subjects' involvement with the message, which has been found to be an important moderating variable that affects advertising processing (see Muehling, Laczniak, and Stoltman 1991, for a review). The first objective of this paper then is to seek an answer to the following research question:

> RQ1: What are the relative contributions of attractiveness, expertise and trustworthiness on subjects' advertising message involvement, brand beliefs, attitude toward the ad, attitude toward the brand, and purchase intentions?

Intercultural Studies of Source Credibility

Numerous studies have demonstrated both the importance of source credibility in the persuasion process and the underlying dimensions of source credibility in the United States as discussed above. It is not clear, however, if the dimensions demonstrated using American subjects will emerge in other countries. Okabe (1983) suggested that what constitutes source credibility might differ from culture to culture. Cross-cultural research on source credibility is extremely limited despite the intuitive speculation that cultural differences may have an influence on how credibility is perceived in different countries. Cross-cultural studies are not only rare, but their results are somewhat mixed as discussed below, calling for further research.

King, Minami, and Samovar (1985) investigated the differences between Japanese and American perceptions of source credibility to test the cultural generalizability of the McCroskey's (1966) source credibility instrument. Their results showed that Americans produced the anticipated factors of competence (expertise) and character (trustworthiness). The Japanese sample produced consideration and appearance in addition to competence and character. For both samples, however, the principal factors were competence and character, suggesting that the dimensionality of source credibility was similar between the two samples. Although they did not report the variance explained by each factor for the American sample, their Japanese results showed that character was the most significant factor, accounting for 53.3% of the variance of source credibility, followed by competence with 10.3% of variance.

Heyman (1992) conducted a research similar to King et al. (1985) study using Australian and Singaporean Chinese samples. His results showed that the Australian subjects produced expertise and trustworthiness as dimensions of source credibility. The Singaporean Chinese, however, produced a single factor consisting of expertise and trustworthiness. Heyman termed the single factor "character," similar to trustworthiness. He offered the following speculations about the differences:

> "In their eyes, it seemed that a communicator could not be perceived as expert unless he was also perceived as being trustworthy and a communicator could not be perceived as trustworthy unless he was also perceived as expert. Chinese people traditionally value education and learning and probably regard an educated, learned person as being honest and reliable. Anglo-Saxons, on the other hand, are able to distinguish between the construct of being expert and the construct of being trustworthy and reliable. In Anglo-Saxon society it is quite possible for a person perceived as knowledgeable to be also perceived as dishonest and untrustworthy. In addition, in this culture an honest person can also be perceived as lacking competence and learning (p. 140)."

Given the inconclusive findings of the limited previous research, the second purpose of our research is to investigate whether the dimensionality of source credibility is applicable to Koreans. Also, in light of the possible influence of culture on source credibility, we will compare the individual contributions of the source credibility dimensions on the dependent variables.

RQ2: Will the dimensions of source credibility found for Americans also emerge for Koreas?

RQ3: If the same credibility dimensions emerge, will they have the same impact on message involvement, brand beliefs, Aad, Ab, and PI for Koreans as they have for Americans?

Methods

Subjects

U.S. Sample

One hundred ninety-seven students enrolled in several communication courses at a large Northwestern university in the U.S. participated in the experiment as subjects in exchange for extra credit. Ninety-seven subjects (49.2 %) were male and 100 subjects (50.8%) were female. Their age ranged from 17 to 47 and the mean age was 21.2 (SD=3.10).

Korean Sample

The Korean sample came from 201 students enrolled in several communication courses at a large university in Seoul. One caveat of our results may be the highly skewed nature of the Korean sample in terms of gender distribution. One hundred and fifty (74.6%) subjects were male and only 51 were female (25.4%). The Korean subjects' age ranged from 19 to 30 with a mean of 23.5 (SD=2.23).

The use of student samples might be justified for two reasons. First, the purpose of the study is to delineate the impact of the independent variables--three dimensions of source credibility and cultural values--on the dependent variables including attitude toward the ad and purchase intentions. In other words, use of student subjects doesn't seem to be a threat to the internal validity of the study. Second, Ohanian (1991) found that age of the respondents had no effect on their purchase intentions, or on how they evaluated the attractiveness, trustworthiness, and expertise of the celebrities, which suggests that use of students may not be a serious threat to the external validity of this study. In addition, students are a good target market for the product class (mini stereo systems) used in the study.

Stimulus Ad

An ad for SONY's mini-system with a fictitious brand name "Magic 2000" was created. The brand name SONY was adopted for two reasons: 1) a real brand name as opposed to a fictitious company name will increase the believability of the test ad; and 2) a company equally well known in both countries will minimize the potential confounding effect of brand familiarity on the dependent variables. The product was featured in the bottom third of the print ad along with the copy side by side, and the endorser was shown in the top two-thirds who said in quotation marks: "I've never heard sound this big and real from a mini-system. Magic 2000 performs better than much more expensive full size stereos." The endorser used in the test ads were a typical European looking male in his 40s for the U.S. ad and a typical Korean male in his 40s for the Korean ad.

The ad contained the following five copy points: 1) Magic 2000 delivers a better prologic surround sound than full-size components; 2) Our speakers produce sound virtually free of distortion, and they are better than most famous full size speakers; 3) Magic 2000 is much easier to use than full-size stereo systems because one bottom controls everything; 4) Magic 2000 occupies virtually no space; and 5) You get all the functions for a fraction of regular stereo prices.

Procedure

The experiment was conducted in a classroom setting to groups ranging in size from 9 to 27. After signing the consent form, the subjects read the biographical sketch of the endorser. The instruction said, "You will see a print ad for a stereo brand which is being endorsed by a person. Please pay a close attention to the description of the person in the ad. Presented below is a short biography of the person."

The biographical sketch of the endorser manipulated expertise and trustworthiness. Only high expertise (with medium trustworthiness) and high trustworthiness (with medium expertise) conditions were used instead of the typical High-Low manipulations because it is highly unrealistic for a company to use someone with low expertise or low trustworthiness as a product endorser. Based on the results of three pretests[1], the following descriptions were used to manipulate the two dimensions of source credibility:

High expertise and medium trustworthiness:

> Dr. Steve Thomas (Dr. Min Hyung Kim for the Korean sample) has been working as a music industry consultant since he received his doctorate in acoustics engineering from Harvard University twelve years ago. He has an extensive experience in testing the quality of stereo systems, and he is a recognized expert whose advice is widely sought by the music industry. But, his opinions are likely to be biased because he is well paid for endorsing this brand.

High Trustworthiness with medium expertise:

> Mr. Steve Thomas (Mr. Min Hyung Kim for the Korean sample) is a volunteer for American Redcross (Korean Redcross for the Korean sample). As a community leader he enjoys a very good reputation for his honesty and reliability. Everybody who knows him says that Steve is sincere and trustworthy. He is appearing in the ad unpaid because he is very satisfied with the brand.

Random assignment of the subjects to either the expertise or trustworthy condition was achieved by alternating the sequence of the questionnaires with either the expert or trustworthy description of the person. The resulting number of subjects was 99 in the expertise condition and 98 in the trustworthy condition for the American sample, and 99 in the expertise sample and 102 in the trustworthy condition for the Korean sample. After reading the description, the subjects saw the print ad for about one minute, and they completed the questionnaire. The subjects were debriefed after the session, thanked and dismissed.

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[1] As suggested by Heyman (1992), it was difficult to manipulate trustworthiness to be medium when the source (endorser) was presented as an expert. In other words, the subjects automatically perceived the expert

Measurement

A Validation Variable: Self-Construal

As mentioned in the Introduction section, we wanted to validate the literature that the U.S.A. represents a highly individualistic culture and Korea represents a highly collectivistic culture. For this purpose, we adopted Kim and Leung's (1997) Self-Construal Scale to determine the cultural identities (i.e., independent or interdependent) of the subjects. Their particular scale consolidates the most salient elements from prior self-construal scales, and incorporates items reflecting concepts related to self-construals which have not been included in previous scales. This measurement instrument uses most items from Singelis' (1994) Self-Construal Scale, Gudykunst et al.'s (1996) Independent and Interdependent Self-Construal Scales (IISC Scales), and the instruments used by Cross (1995) and Kim, Sharkey, and Singelis (1994). Some of the items were combined to minimize redundancy, but for the most part the items were kept intact aside for grammatical rephrasing. Items were also written by Kim and Leung (1997) to incorporate concepts theoretically included in Markus and Kitayama's (1991) constructs of the independent and interdependent self-construals that were not included in previous scales. After assessing the item contributions to scale reliability, 19 of the original 48 items were deleted from the scale to maximize scale reliability.

The following 15 items were used to measure "independence," which represents individualistic values: "I should be judged on my own merit," "I voice my opinions in group discussions," "My personal identity, independent of others, is very important to me," "I prefer to be self-reliant rather than dependent on others," "I act as a unique person, separate from others," "I don't like depending on others," "I take responsibility for my

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source as also trustworthy. This is why we needed to modify the manipulation descriptions several times own actions," "It is important for me to act as an independent person," "I have an opinion about most things: I know what I like and I know what I don't like," "I enjoy being unique and different from others," "I don't change my opinions in conformity with those of the majority," "Speaking up in a work/task group is not a problem for me," "Having a lively imagination is important to me," "Understanding myself is a major goal in my life," and "I enjoy being admired for my unique qualities." These items were later combined to form in index of independence (alpha=.82).

"Interdependence" which represents collectivistic values was measured with the following 14 items: "I feel uncomfortable disagreeing with my group." "I conceal my negative emotions so I won't cause unhappiness among the members of my group," "My relationships with those in my group are more important than my personal accomplishments," "My happiness depends on the happiness of those in my group," "I often consider how I can be helpful to specific others in my group," "I am careful to maintain harmony in my group," "When with my group, I watch my words so I won't offend anyone," "I would sacrifice my self-interests for the benefit of my group," "I try to meet the demands of my group, even if it means controlling my own desires," "It is important to consult close friends and get their ideas before making decisions," "I should take into consideration my parents' advice when making education and career plans," "I act as fellow group members prefer I act," "The security of being an accepted member of a group is very important to me," and "If my brother or sister fails, I feel responsible." These items were later combined to form in index of interdependence (alpha=.78).

Independent Variable-Source Credibility

Following Ohanian (1991), this study measured the perceived attractiveness, trustworthiness and expertise of the endorser in the test ad. The three components of source credibility were assessed by the seven-point semantic differential pairs proposed by Ohanian (1991). Specifically, attractiveness was measured by "Unattractive/Attractive, Not

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with a rather unnaturally strong manipulation for the "medium trustworthiness" condition.

Classy/Classy, Ugly/Beautiful, Plain/Elegant, Not Sexy/Sexy," trustworthiness was measured by "Undependable/Dependable, Dishonest/Honest, Unreliable/Reliable, Insincere/Sincere, Untrustworthy/Trustworthy," and expertise by "Not an Expert/Expert, Inexperienced/Experienced, Unknowledgeable/Knowledgeable, Unqualified/Qualified, Unskilled/Skilled." These items were found to be reliable with Cronbach's alpha of .82, .96, and .93 for attractiveness, expertise, and trustworthiness, respectively.

Dependent Variables

Brand Beliefs Subjects' beliefs about the four copy points were measured by five belief statements ("Magic 2000 delivers a better prologic surround sound than full-size components, " "Magic 2000 speakers produce better sound than most famous full size speakers," "Magic 2000 is much easier to use than full-size stereo systems," Magic 2000 occupies much less space than full-size stereo systems," and " Consumers get all the functions for a fraction of regular stereo prices.") on a seven-point scale anchored by "strongly disagree" and "strongly agree." The five items were summed up to form a scale (alpha=.72).

Attitude toward the ad Subjects' attitude toward the ad was measured by a six-item semantic differential scale extracted from the Wells, Leavitt and McConville's (1971) "Reaction Profile." Subjects were asked to indicate their overall attitude toward the test ad on the following semantic pairs: Unattractive/Attractive; Depressing /Refreshing; Unappealing/Appealing; Unpleasant /Pleasant; Dull/Dynamic; and Not enjoyable/Enjoyable. A similar scale has been used by Muehling and Laczniak (1988) as a measure of Aad, and the items in this study showed a high level of internal consistency (alpha=.92).

Attitude toward the Brand Attitude toward brand (Ab) is defined as a predisposition to respond in a consistently favorable or unfavorable manner to a particular brand (Ajzen and Fishbein 1980). As such, Ab refers to general feelings toward a particular brand, or in this case, Sony, and is was assessed by three general semantic differential items (bad/good, unfavorable/favorable, negative/positive) on a seven-point scale. These items had a high level of reliability (alpha=.92).

Involvement Following Muehling, Laczniak, and Stoltman (1991), involvement is defined as the degree to which subjects attended to the messages (advertising message involvement or AMI) in the test ad. In most previous studies, involvement has been regarded as a moderating variable that affects the results of advertising processing. In this study, however, involvement is treated as a dependent variable because we posit that message processing involvement is a result of the perceived level of source credibility: For AMI, subjects were asked to indicate the degree to which they "paid attention to," "concentrated on," and "put thought into evaluating" the executional elements in the ad, as well as whether the ad's message was "relevant to their needs" on a seven-point scale anchored by "strongly disagree" and "strongly agree." This scale produced a high level of internal consistency (alpha=.82).

Purchase Intentions Finally, subjects were asked to indicate their purchase intentions on a question "If you are going to buy a stereo system, how likely is it that you would purchase Magic 2000?" This question was anchored by a three, seven-point semantic differential scale (unlikely/likely, improbable/ probable, impossible/ possible). These scale has been used by MacKenzie, Lutz, and Belch (1986) and Machleit and Wilson (1986). It showed a high level of reliability (alpha=.91).

Analysis and Results

Manipulation checks

Manipulation of expertise and trustworthiness was successful for both the American and Korean samples as shown in Table 2. For the American sample, the subjects in the expertise condition perceived the endorser to possess significantly higher expertise (M=5.17, SD=1.39) than the subjects in the trustworthy condition (M=3.38, SD=1.40) at the .001 level (t=8.97). The same was true for the Korean sample (means of 5.57 vs.

2.50) at the .001 significance level (t=19.04). Similarly, the subjects in the trustworthy condition perceived the endorser to be significantly more trustworthy than the subjects in the expertise condition. For the American sample, the mean scores on the trustworthiness scale were 5.32 (SD=1.32) for the subjects in the trustworthy condition and 4.53 (SD=1.25) for the expertise condition (t=4.29, p<.001). For the Korean sample, the mean of the trustworthiness scale was 4.25 (SD=1.36) for the subjects in the trustworthy condition and it was 3.73 (SD=1.98) for the subjects in the expertise condition (t=2.99, p<.01).

Comparison of the Two Samples

First, it was necessary to determine if the apparent difference of age and gender distribution between the two samples had any effect on the dependent variables. Three MANOVA models were tested using country (America and Korea) and gender as the independent variables, age as a covariate, and attractiveness, expertise, and trustworthiness as the dependent variables. Results showed that country had a main effect on attractiveness. Also, there was an interaction effect between country and gender on attractiveness. This seems to have been caused by the lower perceived attractiveness of the endorser by the Korean subjects compared with the American subjects as shown in Table 2. In addition, country had a main effect on trustworthiness (see Table 2). Consistent with Ohanian (1991), however, the results showed that gender and age had no main effect on the three dependent variables. Therefore, the differential age and gender distribution between the two samples doesn't appear to be a threat to the internal validity of the study.

Second, we compared subjects' orientation toward collectivism and individualism to test the notion that Koreans are more collectivistic and less individualistic than Americans. This test was necessary because the results of our comparative study would be meaningless without first validating that the two ethnic groups indeed held different cultural orientations in terms of collectivism and individualism as suggested by the literature.

Results of the analysis on the self-construal scale revealed some intriguing findings. Overall, both the independence and interdependence dimensions of the scale were found to be reliable with Cronbach alpha of .82 and .78, respectively as shown in Table 1. As expected from previous research, the Americans were found to be significantly more "independent" than Koreans with the mean of 5.86 (SD=.61) compared with the Korean subjects' mean of 5.40 (SD=.69) on the independence scale. Also, the Koreans were more "interdependent" with the mean score of 4.49 (SD=.73) compared with the American subjects' mean of 4.18 (SD=.80) on the interdependence scale. Surprisingly, however, the Korean subjects were found to be significantly (t=10.93, p<.001) more independent (M=5.40) than interdependent (M=4.49), contradicting the literature. While the Korean sample was found to be more interdependent compared with the American sample (t=7.06, p<.001), the mean difference was not that great (5.86 vs. 5.40). Similarly, although there was a statistically significant difference (t=4.06, p<.001) between the two groups in terms of interdependence in the expected direction, the mean difference doesn't seem to be substantial (4.48 for Koreans and 4.18 for Americans). These results seem to suggest that Korean college students are almost as individualistic as American students. Readers are therefore advised to consider these findings in interpreting the rest of our results.

Effect of the Three Dimensions of Source Credibility on the Dependent Variables

Our RQ1 was: "What are the relative contributions of attractiveness, expertise and trustworthiness on subjects' advertising message involvement, brand beliefs, attitude toward the ad, attitude toward the brand, and purchase intentions?" To investigate this research question, a series of multiple regression analysis were performed using the three dimensions of source credibility as the independent variables and advertising message involvement, brand beliefs, attitude toward the ad, attitude toward the brand, and purchase intentions as the dependent variables. The two samples were pooled because: 1) it was judged that there was no significant difference between them in terms of the dimensionality of source credibility as explained below under RQ2; 2) age and gender did not affect the dependent variables as shown in the MANOVA analyses; and 3) the two samples seemed to reveal similar self-construal patterns.

In general, source credibility alone exerted a substantial amount of influence on the dependent variables. As shown in Table 3, the collective contribution of the three dimensions of source credibility on the dependent variables ranged from 5% (attitude toward the brand) to 42% (attitude toward the ad). It is not surprising that source credibility explained only 5% of the variance in brand attitude given that the brand was Sony. As an extremely well-known brand, subjects must have had a strong prior attitude toward Sony, and naturally it was difficult to be changed as a result of just one exposure to a fictitious ad used in the research. Aside from the weak influence on brand attitude, source credibility seems to be an important variable that can substantially affect consumers' attitude toward the ad, brand beliefs, message involvement, and purchase intentions.

Next, we compared the individual contributions of the three dimensions of source credibility on the dependent variables. For subjects' attitude toward the ad, attractiveness had a stronger influence (Beta=.55) than expertise (Beta=.14) or trustworthiness (Beta=.10), but there was no difference between expertise and trustworthiness as shown in Table 3. On purchase intentions, all the three dimensions had comparable amount of influence. On brand attribute beliefs, the only significant difference ($t=2.19$, $p<.01$) was found between trustworthiness (Beta=.33) and expertise (Beta=.08). Finally, there was no significant difference among the three dimensions' influence on ad message involvement.

Our RQ2 was: Will the dimensions of source credibility found for Americans also emerge for Koreas? A varimax factor analysis was performed on each sample to investigate the underlying dimensions of source credibility. Both samples produced the three dimensions proposed by Ohanian (1991) very neatly with each of the fifteen items loading on the expected factor without any deviations. Both samples produced a remarkably similar pattern of factors with very close amount of variance explained by trustworthiness (38.6% for US and 32.2% for Korea), expertise (26.5% for US and 24.9 for Korea), and attractiveness (12.7 for US and 13.6 for Korea). From this analysis, it appears that the construct of source credibility and its underlying dimensions are equally applicable to American and Korean students.

Finally our RQ3 was: If the same credibility dimensions emerge, will they have the same impact on message involvement, brand beliefs, Aad, Ab, and PI for Koreans as they have for Americans? As shown in Table 4, the regression analysis found that no path from the independent variables (attractiveness, expertise, and trustworthiness) to the dependent variables was significantly different between the Korean and American groups. Therefore, it appears that the effect of attractiveness, expertise and trustworthiness on subjects' ad message involvement, brand beliefs, attitude toward the ad, brand attitude, and purchase intentions is the same between Korea and America.

Discussion

The goal of this paper was to investigate: 1) which of the source credibility dimensions are exerting more influence on the dependent variables; 2) whether the source credibility dimensions reported in the previous research using American samples are applicable to Koreans; and 3) to compare the contributions of the source credibility dimensions on the dependent variables between America and Korea.

In terms of independence (individualism) vs. interdependence (collectivism), it was found that the Korean subjects were relatively more interdependent than Americans as expected. But further analysis showed that the Korean subjects revealed a stronger tendency toward independence rather than interdependency. This seems to be inconsistent with the literature that classifies Korea as a highly collectivistic culture. Our study suggests that at least the Korean college students who participated in the study are very much "Americanized" in their orientation. Perhaps then it is not a surprise that our Korean sample produced almost exactly the same pattern of source credibility factors as its American counterpart. It seems that unlike Singaporean Chinese in the Heyman (1992) study, the Korean subjects in our study differentiated among the three dimensions of source credibility. Based on this finding, marketers could make a critical mistake if they make a sweeping assumption that Koreans are highly collectivistic as the literature suggests. However, it is possible that current generations, exposed to higher incomes and an international consumer culture, are more individualistic than prior generations.

Our results suggest that the relative influence of the three dimensions of source credibility varies by the dependent variables. For example, the perceived attractiveness, expertise and trustworthiness of the endorser were equally important to subjects' purchase intentions. This contradicts Ohanian's (1991) finding that expertise was the only dimension that had a significant effect on purchase intentions. It was also found that all the three dimensions of source credibility affected subjects' involvement with the ad message.

Contrary to McGuire's (1968) suggestion that expertise ("perceived competence," p.187) adds to persuasive impact more than trustworthiness, our results showed that only trustworthiness had a significant impact on attitude toward the brand and brand beliefs (see Table 3). While it is not clear what McGuire meant by "persuasive impact," our findings indicate that trustworthiness is relatively more important than expertise when it comes to subjects' brand beliefs and attitudes. As such, to use a highly trustworthy endorser can be a good advertising strategy if the objective of the advertising campaign is to enhance consumers' brand beliefs and brand attitudes. This might be a particularly effective strategy if a brand has a set of attributes that is superior to its competitors.

In terms of subjects' attitude toward the ad, the perceived attractiveness of the endorser was more important than expertise and trustworthiness. Given the robust research evidence that Aad has a strong influence on brand attitudes and purchase intentions (see Muehling and McCann 1993 for a review), our study confirms the importance of using attractive celebrity endorsers in advertisements. One practical implication of this finding is to feature a highly attractive endorser in an advertising campaign when the goal is to enhance subjects' attitude toward the ad itself. This can be a particularly useful strategy when it is highly difficult to differentiate one's brand from the competitors' due to the similar nature of all the products.

All the usual limitations involving laboratory experiments apply to our research such as the unnatural setting and the use of convenience samples. Nonetheless, we feel that the results are worth noting, particularly because the focus of the research was the internal validity of the results, not the external validity. The unexpected finding that the Korean students were quite independent, however, warrants a further study using a more representative sample.

Considering that the results were obtained after showing the ad just once, it is quite convincing that source credibility plays an important role in determining consumers' brand beliefs, attitude toward the ad, attitude toward the brand, and purchase intentions. In addition, source credibility strongly affects viewers' level of involvement with the advertising message. Taken together, our study suggests the importance of evaluating an endorser before the advertising campaign in terms of attractiveness, expertise, and trustworthiness.

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Table 1: Reliability of the Scales (Cronbach's alpha)

Variable Name	Pooled sample	US Sample	Korean Sample
Source credibility			
Attractiveness	.82	.80	.75
Expertise	.96	.96	.96
Trustworthiness	.93	.96	.89
Ad message involvement	.82	.83	.78
Attitude toward the ad	.92	.92	.86
Attitude toward the brand	.92	.97	.89
Brand beliefs	.72	.75	.66
Purchase intentions	.91	.91	.92
Self-construal			
Independence	.82	.81	.81
Interdependence	.78	.79	.79

Table 2: Manipulations checks on Source Credibility

Scale\Condition	Expertise condition Mean (SD)	Trustworthy condition Mean (SD)	t-test, p-level
U.S.A.	N=99	N=98	
Attractiveness	3.82 (1.01)	4.26 (.91)	3.18 (p<.01)
Expertise	5.17 (1.39)	3.38 (1.40)	8.97 (p<.001)
Trustworthiness	4.53 (1.25)	5.32 (1.32)	4.29 (P<.001)
Korea	N=99	N=99	
Attractiveness	2.92 (.92)	2.59 (.83)	2.64 (P<.01)
Expertise	5.57 (1.17)	2.50 (1.11)	19.04 (P<.001)
Trustworthiness	3.73 (1.08)	4.25 (1.36)	2.99 (P<.01)

Table 3: Contribution of Attractiveness, Expertise, and Trustworthiness on Dependent Variables: Regression Analysis

DV	IV	Beta coeff.	R-squared	t-test'	p value
Aad	Attract	.55**		A and E'' t=3.73	p<.01
	Expert	.14**	.42		
	Trust	.10*		A and T t=7.03	p<.01
PI	Attract	.18**			
	Expert	.19**	.19		
	Trust	.24**			
Ab	Attract	.12**			
	Expert	-.04	.05		
	Trust	.13**			
Brand beliefs	Attract	.17**			
	Expert	.08	.21	E and T	
	Trust	.33**		t=2.19	p<.01
Ad message involvement	Attract	.30**			
	Expert	.14**	.18		
	Trust	.12*			

** Beta coefficient significant at the .001 level.

* Beta coefficient significant at the .01 level.

' Tested if the difference between two beta coefficients of the three dimensions of source credibility was significant. Only significant results are reported in the table.

'' A denotes Attractiveness, E denotes Expertise, and T denotes Trustworthiness.

Table 4: Contribution of Attractiveness, Expertise, and Trustworthiness on Dependent Variables: Comparison between the US and Korea

DV	IV	USA	Korea
Aad	Attract	.35**	.52**
	Expert	.24*	.10
	Trust	.11	.07
PI	Attract	.15*	.21**
	Expert	.21**	.17*
	Trust	.28**	.20**
Ab	Attract	.05	-.15*
	Expert	-.06	.02
	Trust	.12	.07
Brand beliefs	Attract	.22**	.11
	Expert	.09	.08
	Trust	.34**	.28**
Ad message involvement	Attract	.20**	.24**
	Expert	.11	.19**
	Trust	.09	.13

** Beta coefficient significant at the .001 level.

* Beta coefficient significant at the .01 level.

Perceptions of Japanese Advertising: A Q-Methodological Study of Advertising Practitioners in Japan

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Perceptions of Japanese Advertising: A Q-Methodological Study of Advertising Practitioners in Japan

Abstract

Q-methodology was used to isolate the perceptions of advertising professionals in Japan. Three distinct types of advertising professional emerged: The Establishment Type sees minor changes but not dramatic changes precipitated by difficult economic times. The Emigrant Type believes that cultural factors preclude major change in Japan's advertising climate. The Change Agent Type foresees dramatic change in advertising in Japan, precipitated by difficult economic times and fierce competition. Conclusions and implications of these findings are discussed.

Introduction

> *Japan's prolonged recession is bringing an uncustomary element of aggression to the country's normally low-key advertising. A previous reliance on abstract images ... has given way to noisy, aggressive pitch-making by supermarket and discount-chain operators eager to entice budget conscious consumers with promises of low-low-low price.*
>
> -- Asian Advertising and Marketing, March 25, 1994, p. 17

Such a description of Japanese advertising sounds much more like American advertising than the "soft-sell" approach historically associated with advertising in Japan. Past research has indicated that advertising in Japan tends to be more mood oriented, with little or no emphasis on product benefits.

Yet as Johansson (1994) and others (e.g., Chang et al., 1995; Kilburn, 1992) have noted, there seems to be a gradual emergence of attribute-oriented advertising in Japan. Johannson attributes this primarily to the modernization of the Japanese distribution system, which has impacted service levels at retail outlets and therefore caused an increase in pre-selling.

If as predicted by Wood (1993), the Japanese economy is unlikely to rebound dramatically from the bursting of the bubble in the late 1980s, one could hypothesize that attribute-oriented advertising will continue to increase. One important distinction to be made is the difference between advertising strategy and execution. Cultural factors likely will continue to dictate a softer feel to the advertisements, but strategically, there might be a continued increase in the stressing of product benefits.

Lazer, Murata and Kosaka (1985) take a different approach. "Although Japan has embraced Western ideas and approaches, what has occurred is the Japanization of American marketing and not the Westernization of Japan" (p. 79). Either way, it appears changes may be afoot in Japanese advertising.

The purpose of this paper is to examine perceptions of changes in Japanese advertising among advertising professionals in Japan. Previously, studies of advertising in Japan have been conducted using content analysis, with little attention to attitudes about advertising and advertising strategy. By seeking opinions from professionals in Japan, this researcher hopes to shed light on advertising issues that have not previously been scientifically explored.

A review of the existing literature about advertising in Japan and interviews with professionals at advertising agencies in Japan yielded four primary dimensions that appear to be affecting advertising in Japan. These dimensions are, the "soft sell" or comparatively more emotional appeal of Japanese advertisements, which contrasts with more attribute-oriented or "hard sell" Western advertising; advertising strategy issues, which focus primarily on the intent of advertising in Japan; economic issues, which address changes in the Japanese distribution system and other economic issues that directly affect advertising; and cultural factors that affect advertising in Japan, which include differences in customs, mores, and language.

This study is designed to shed light on factors that may be causing change. Forty statements regarding advertising strategy in Japan and the United States were considered by advertising professionals at Dentsu and Hakuhodo, the two largest advertising agencies in Japan, and at Western agencies in Japan. Each of the statements involved one of the four factors that appear to be shaping advertising in Japan.

Several theories can be drawn upon to guide this research. Perhaps the most germane is Ito's Tripolar Model of Social Consensus Formation Communication (Guydekunst, 1993). Unlike typical bipolar models that consider only two components, the mass media including the sender and messages, and the receiver including other people and ingroups, a tripolar model of social consensus formation includes three or more components: typically the mass media, government policies, and public attitudes. In bipolar models, the receiver is usually the dependent variable and the mass media are usually independent variables. In the tripolar model, mass media and the receiver are interchangeable and can become independent or dependent variables. Although the use of this model has been limited to studies in Japan, it provides a framework for analyzing persuasive activity within a country that values consensus building.

Several other persuasion theories may be called upon in examining advertising in Japan. In the two-step flow model developed by Katz and Lazarsfeld (1955), individuals are considered to be less independent and less individualistic. They are influenced by other people, especially opinion leaders around them. In examining advertising in Japanese culture, where people tend to be less individualistic than in the United States, this model is particularly helpful.

The *Joho Kohdo* (Information Behavior) model, developed by Ito (1981, 1987), is a variation of uses and gratifications research. Under the uses and gratifications model, individuals seek the information they need only in the mass media. In the *Joho Kohdo* model, individuals are thought to extract the information they need from their environment, including the mass media, other individuals, letters from foreign friends, foreign visitors, imported commodities, and so forth (Guydekunst, 1991).

Rogers' (1995) Diffusion of Innovations work may also prove helpful as a backdrop for analyzing change in advertising strategy in Japan. An innovation generates a kind of uncertainty in that it provides an alternative to present methods or ideas (Severin & Tankard, 1992).

If adding theoretical value is defined as providing knowledge in an area that might help refine an existing understanding, a study that examines a paradigmatic change clearly qualifies. Examining advertising strategy in Japan allows communication researchers to move beyond simply looking at advertisements to understand the cultural, economic and political forces at work in the development of promotional strategies. Consider the following implications:

* As noted by Schudson (1984), advertising has a special cultural power, and, in fact, can be viewed as a reflection of culture. This certainly is true in Japan, where the relative homogeneity of advertisements reflects the lack of competition among companies. If indeed advertising in Japan is changing, this might signify subtle differences in societal norms.

* The role of advertising in Japan clearly affects other components of communication strategy or the marketing mix. Of particular interest is the role of public relations in Japan. If the role of advertising is shifting from being predominantly image oriented to being more "hard sell," then Western style public relations may emerge to fill the need for image-building activity.

* In 1980, America's trans-Atlantic trade was the same size as its trans-Pacific trade. By 1993, the Pacific trade was 50 percent greater. This trend is continuing (Chang, 1995). Advertising in Asia is blossoming at record proportions, tripling in Southeast Asia since the mid 1980s. It is too early to predict the size of the expected increase in advertising expenditures in China. Japan's advertising expenditures are second only to the United States and the gap is getting more narrow (Chang, 1995). As business and economies expand in Asia, advertising likel will continue to expand. Japan and the United States, the world's two largest advertisers, likely will play impor roles.

* One of the most long-running and pervasive debates in international marketing is the issue of standardization vs. specialization -- or global vs. local advertising. Should an organization interested in marketin its products or services worldwide adopt a single advertising strategy to be communicated across cultures, or shou each country or culture be handled individually? Proponents of specialization contend that differences among countries (e.g., culture, industrial development, media availability, legal restrictions) must be considered. Many

prominent international advertising blunders have resulted from not customizing messages for local markets. On the other hand, proponents of standardization contend that consumers around the world share similar characteristics and that cultural differences are more a matter of degree than direction (Mueller, 1992). Analyzing Japanese advertising and comparing it to American advertising may make it easier to address the standardization vs. specialization issue for American companies approaching the Japanese market.

Method

Previous academic studies of advertising in Japan are limited by methodology. Probably because of the difficulty of conducting other types of quantitative research, most quantitative research conducted about advertising in Japan has been done using content analysis. In addition, scholars and professionals have written extensively on the topic. However, until this study, advertising professionals in Japan had not been systematically tapped for information pertaining to the industry in which they work.

The purpose of this study was to ascertain perceptions of advertising professionals in Japan regarding the role of advertising in Japan, the nature of Japanese advertisements, reported changes in advertising strategy, and the effect of a currently stagnant economy on both the advertising industry and advertising strategies employed by clients.

There appears to be evidence that advertising in Japan is changing. Johannson (1994), Chang et al. (1995) have suggested that a gradual move toward more attribute-oriented advertising may be underway. In addition, interviews conducted by this researcher in the summer of 1995 revealed that many advertising professionals in Japan saw changes taking place. Content analyses by Lin (1993), Ramaprasad & Hasegawa, 1990, 1992), Mueller (1987, 1992) and others (e.g., Laskey et al., 1989) have not revealed a consistent trend toward more attribute-oriented advertising. However, these studies differ in their purpose, their execution and their interpretation of hard sell vs. soft sell, and are consequently difficult to generalize either from or about. Clearly, a more consistent approach to this research problem was necessary.

This study was designed to search for perceptions of advertising professionals in Japan regarding what appears to be a slow but important change in advertising strategy. Q-methodology was employed to enable the researcher to seek individual opinions about the factors influencing advertising in Japan. Unlike previous studies, which forced researchers to extrapolate conclusions about advertisements or advertising strategies from a review and interpretation of advertisements, this study probed the thinking of the professionals who help develop it. Further, the abductive nature of Q methodology allows the researcher to work toward a hypothesis, not from one.

Data for this study were collected in the summer of 1996 in Tokyo, Japan. A purposive sample of 34 advertising professionals rank-ordered 40 statements about advertising in Japan or comparing advertising in Japan to Western advertising. Appropriate material for the statements was developed from personal interviews conducted in the summer of 1995 with advertising professionals in Japan, and from previously published studies of advertising in Japan.

In Q-Methodology, the sample consists of the items to be sorted, not the people sorting them. McKeown and Thomas (1988) describe naturalistic Q-samples as statements taken from respondents' oral or written communications. Quasi-naturalistic samples are "similar to those drawn from interviews, but are developed from sources external to the study" (p. 26). In this study, a hybrid type of sample was developed: statements were pulled directly from interviews conducted with advertising professionals in Japan in 1995 and from a review of literature about advertising in Japan.

After eliminating duplicate or similar statements from an original Q-population of around 200 statements, a sample of 59 statements was developed. The next step was to assign the statements to categories. Using an inductive design, in which patterns emerge as statements are collected (McKeown & Thomas, 1988), four dimensions were selected because of their importance to understanding advertising in Japan. In an inductive design, "the dimensions that guided the final assignment and selection of statements were suggested, for the most part, by the statements and were not obvious prior to statement collection" (McKeown & Thomas, 1988, pp. 29-30).

Factorial Design

The original 59 statements were organized into a preliminary structure consisting of five preliminary categories. The logical grouping of some statements and elimination of others allowed for the development of a 2x5x4 factorial design -- four categories of 10 statements, each with five statements about advertising in Japan and five about Western advertising. (See Appendix for complete list of statements)

Table 1: Factorial Design of Q-sample

	Cultural Factor	Economic Factor	Advertising Strategy	Hard Sell / Soft Sell
Japanese	11	1	2	3
	14	29	13	4
	15	30	32	5
	17	34	35	16
	25	37	39	36
Western	8	12	7	6
	18	20	19	9
	26	27	21	10
	28	33	22	23
	38	40	24	31

Cultural Factors

A number of cultural factors -- some subtle, some not -- are likely to affect advertising in Japan. Included along this dimension are statements about traditional values, the use of direct expression, and the respect of advertising as a profession and advertisers in Japan and the United States.

Economic Factors

Changes in the distribution system in Japan, which historically has been criticized as both cumbersome and inherently protectivist, are among the economic factors addressed along this dimension. Because the system has become more streamlined, wholesale retailers have successfully entered the Japanese marketplace, undercutting the costs of service-oriented department stores. This suggests that advertising may need to play a more active role in providing information about products to consumers. Also included along this dimension are issues pertaining to price inclusion in advertising in Japan and the United States, as well as statements about the importance of branding.

Advertising Strategy

Statements along this dimension addressed issues pertaining to the focus of advertisements and their anticipated outcomes. Traditionally, television advertising in Japan has been produced and aired to make consumers feel good about a company, with little concern for actually selling products. Comparative advertising has been virtually non-existent. Although statements along this dimension have elements of "hard sell vs. soft sell," they are differentiated by their focus on the desired effect of the advertising.

Hard Sell vs. Soft Sell

Content analyses of advertising in Japan have concluded that the mood of advertising is "softer" in Japan. Yet recent interviews and trade publication articles have suggested that advertising is becoming more attribute-oriented or hard sell. Statements along this dimension also addressed the style and substance of advertisements.

Pre-testing

Pre-testing involved the clarity of the statements themselves and the ease of understanding the Japanese translation of the statements. English versions of the statements were pre-tested on two Japanese executives and several other scholars attending the American Academy of Advertising conference in Vancouver, B.C., in March, 1996. The Japanese version was tested using Japanese student at a large Midwest University.

The conditions of instruction were extremely specific, leaving no room for interpretation about the manner in which statements should be sorted. Both the English and Japanese versions were two and one-half pages long, with specific directional statements.

During the pre-test, it was determined that the instructions were easy to understand and difficult to misinterpret. Nonetheless, the researcher was available to answer questions as many of the sorts were being conducted. There appeared to be no confusion about the instructions during the administration of the Q-sorts.

The P-sample

"The primary concern of Q-methodology is not with how many people believe such-and-such, but with why and how they believe what they do. Thus, the central issue is from what perspective can relationships best be observed" (McKeown & Thomas, 1988, p. 45). In Q-methodology, the bias is toward small person-samples, or P-samples.

Gathering the data

The Q-sorts were administered to 34 advertising professionals in Japan in June, 1996. Appointments with many of the advertising executives were established before the trip. In all but two cases, when the researcher had an appointment, he explained the process and directions, insisted that the respondent read the conditions of instruction and answered any questions during the Q-sort.

In general, Japanese are extremely courteous to those they are familiar with and drastically indifferent to strangers (Inamoto, 1985). The contacts developed during interviews conducted by this researcher in 1995, and maintained through correspondence between the summer of 1995 and the summer of 1996, helped smooth the way for conducting Q-sorts in Japan in June, 1996. Without first earning the trust of the Japanese executives, it is unlikely that a researcher could expect the time commitment to complete Q-sorts.

Findings and Analysis

The sorts completed by the 34 advertising professionals were correlated between subjects using a Pearson's product moment correlation, and then factor analyzed to discover groupings of advertising professional who share similar opinions about advertising in Japan. Further analysis revealed those opinions most strongly shared by each group.

QUANL was used to factor analyze Q-sort data. Although several solutions were considered, a three-factor solution was deemed most appropriate for this study. Each of the three factors represents a hypothetical type reflecting common viewpoints about advertising in Japan. To enhance the view of the individual factors, Varimax rotation was performed. Twenty-seven of the 34 respondents had a statistically significant loading on one of the three factors; the remaining seven respondents were eliminated because their loadings were either confounded or statistically insignificant.

The three factors extracted explained 48.14 percent of the total variance. Factor I accounted for 23.62 percent, Factor II for 11.39 percent, and Factor III for 13.13 percent. A portion of the factor matrix is shown in Table 6. It shows factor loadings for each of the 34 advertising professionals.

A brief profile of each type reveals markedly different perceptions of advertising in Japan, advertising strategy and the role of the economy in shaping advertising.

The Three Types

The three types of advertising professionals in this study include Type I (Establishment Type), a group closely aligned with the established profession of advertising in Japan; Type II (Emigrant Type), a group of Western advertising executives in Japan whose attitudes suggest both an intrigue with Japanese advertising and hope that it will change; and Type III (Change Agent), a hybrid group of Japanese and Western advertising professionals who believe that indeed advertising in Japan is changing in a direction that makes it appear much more like Western advertising. Because the self-referential processes of Q-methodology allow us to develop typologies, each of these groups may be thought of as representative of larger populations of advertising executives in Japan.

Because the first two groups divide cleanly along nationality lines, it is imperative this analysis be particularly sensitive to cultural differences in perception. The Establishment Type is comprised entirely of Japanese advertising executives. Fourteen of these 15 respondents are employed by either Dentsu or Hakuhodo. Dentsu, the largest advertising agency in the world (Dentsu, 1996), is generally considered the most prestigious in Japan. Hakuhodo, the second largest agency in Japan, is ninth in the world in size (Dentsu, 1996), and also very prestigious.

Clearly, it is important to view the Establishment Type as an advertising professional who views advertising in Japan from a much different perspective than someone viewing it as a visitor or from afar. In general, the Establishment Type admires Western advertising, while recognizing that Japanese advertisements themselves are different than Western ads. Nonetheless, he contends that the advertising climate in Japan is similar to that in the West. This Type sees minor changes in advertising in Japan, but not dramatic changes precipitated by difficult economic times.

By contrast, the Emigrant Type is on the outside looking in. Despite the decades of experience as advertising professionals in Japan, his analysis of Japanese advertising is still from outside the establishment. F instance, even the largest foreign agency in Japan (McCann-Erickson) ranks ninth in the country, handling less t one percent of the total advertising expenditures in the country (Dentsu, 1996).

The Emigrant Type sees the importance of price and other economic issues as fundamental to the gener success of advertising. He is quick to point out the success of Western advertising in Japan, ar [illegible] is fascinated wi advertising in Japan and how it works. Despite a belief that advertising is an extension of the competitive marketplace, the Emigrant Type believes that cultural factors preclude major change in the advertising climate in Japan.

The Change Agent Type, which is comprised of both Japanese and Western professionals, foresees more dramatic change in advertising in Japan. Unlike the Establishment or Emigrant Types, they see an increase in the use of attribute-oriented advertising. Like the Emigrant Type, they see economic factors as important to advertising, but unlike either Emigrant or Establishment Types, the Change Agent Type sees advertising evolving as a direct result of competition and difficult economic times.

Type I: The Establishment Type

The Establishment Type reflects the common views or attitudes about advertising in Japan among 15 advertising professionals. All 15 of these professionals are Japanese citizens firmly entrenched in the advertising business in Japan, 13 of them at one of the two largest advertising agencies in Japan. As such, they represent part of the established advertising industry in Japan.

This Type believes that the advertising climate in Japan is similar to Western climates, although it admires the work and strategy of American advertising. Nonetheless, it take great pride in Japanese advertising, and does not foresee dramatic changes in advertising in Japan.

Similar Advertising Climate

Several scholars (e.g., Chang et al., 1995; Johannson, 1994, Mueller, 1987, 1992) have made the case that advertising in Japan is quite different from advertising anywhere else in the world. In citing cultural and economic factors, the homogeneity of the populace, and differences in the types and intent of the advertising, the suggestion has been that Japan is unique. The Establishment Type is well aware of this stigma, and disagreement with the statements above may be caused by dissonance.

This may partially explain the vehement disagreement with the statement that "television ads in Japan tend to concentrate less on product superiority and more on packaging and availability information." Here, the beliefs of the Establishment Type contrast directly with the work of Lin (1993), whose content analysis showed otherwise. This also represents an area where the Establishment Type differs dramatically from the other two Types in the study. There are at least two possible explanations for this difference. First, as noted by Gibney (1996), the Japanese consider packaging as a significant part of the overall presentation. This is true of everything from gifts to products to advertisements themselves. Therefore, what Lin (1993) may have interpreted as a concentration on packaging might be perceived by the Establishment Type as an aspect of addressing product superiority. Similarly, stores in Japan command various levels of respect. For instance, Mitsukoshi and Matsuhishita generally are considered among elite department stores. To note that a product is available at one of these stores might indeed be perceived by the Establishment Type as concentration on product superiority, the implication being that only superior products are sold at these prestigious establishments.

Admiration of Western Advertising

Strong branding is at the heart of Western advertising strategy and philosophy. However, Japanese companies rarely tend to differentiate brands from company names (e.g., Honda, Toyota) in Japan. Yet in the United States, Japanese companies have clearly established brands (e.g., Acura, Lexus). While strong agreement with a statement addressing the importance of strong branding in Japanese advertising may indicate a difference in definition for the word "brand" (to a Japanese advertising executive working in Japan, Sony may indeed be a brand), it also suggests supreme respect for the Western conception of brands.

Christopher (1986) points out that nearly every foreign company that has experienced business success in Japan has firmly established its brand and maintained it. Success stories range from Coca-Cola, which holds a market share close to 90 percent, to Lever, the British conglomerate that has captured a large share of the detergent market in Japan (Kilburn, 1991). Such successes have clearly not been lost on Establishment Type respondents, who express agreement with the importance of branding, and strong disagreement with the idea that Western advertisers take a short-term perspective in their advertising.

Japanese Ads Are Special

While Establishment Type advertising professionals think the climate for advertising in Japan is similar to the climate in Western countries, they recognize that advertisements made in Japan are unique.

Researchers who have used content analysis to study television advertising in Japan (e.g., Lin, 1993; Ramaprasad & Hasegawa, 1990, 1992; Mueller, 1987, 1992; Laskey et al., 1989) have noted the comparatively emotional appeals in Japanese television advertisements. The Establishment Type not only agrees with this assessment, he takes pride in it.

Advertising creativity in Japan has made great strides in the past two decades. In the 1970s, visitors to Japan would have been able to understand the simplistic television advertising without understanding the language. (Chang et al., 1995) But by the 1990s, slickly produced and cleverly written Japanese advertisements were winning awards at the Cannes Advertising Festival. According to one Dentsu executive (personal communication, 1995), the Japanese, always competitive, occasionally produce a 60-second spot, air it once so that it's eligible, and then enter it in international competition.

The Establishment Type admits that Japanese television advertisements tend to be less informative than their U.S. counterparts. From his point of view, this is a good thing. To the Establishment Type, advertisements in Japan do an excellent job of conveying not only information to prospective consumers, but also a feeling of trust, or the beginning of a relationship. This is particularly true of television advertising.

Times are Tough, but not that Tough

Trying economic times in Japan have been well documented (see Wood, 1993). The Establishment Type acknowledges that difficult economic times means changes for their clients and their own agencies resulting from either the "bursting of the bubble" or the recession that has plagued the economy since 1991. Yet tough times do not translate into changes in advertising.

The Establishment Type acknowledges that economic conditions have affected advertising strategies at two levels. First, companies have needed to "tighten their belts," insisting on more efficient media planning. Second, price has become more of a concern to the Japanese consumer than it was during the booming 1980s. However, the Establishment Type does not acknowledge that changes in the distribution system or at service outlets have dramatically affected advertising.

While it is true that stores in Japan traditionally have fulfilled much of the information function concerning product attributes, the Establishment Type does not subscribe to the notion that advertising in Japan is relegated to image building or image enhancement. This is one area in which the Establishment Type feels more strongly than either of the other two groups.

The Establishment Type believes that advertising in Japan provides as much or more information than

Western advertising. What is different is the manner in which information is conveyed. A greater emphasis on nonverbal communication, and the ability of the Japanese to share common feelings and experiences (Beaumont, 1995) may make it plausible that the Establishment Type believes Japanese advertising provides at least as much product information as Western advertising.

Type II: The Emigrant Type

The Establishment Type, examined above, represents people who work as part of the establishment in Japan. What follows is an examination of a group of advertising professionals who are on the outside looking in. The Emigrant Type consists of seven advertising professionals holding high-level positions within the Tokyo offices of well-known international advertising agencies conducting business for their clients in Japan.

In general, this Type believes that while economic factors are affecting the nature of advertising in Japan, the advertising climate is not changing. The Emigrant Type, which takes pride in the limited success foreign advertising has enjoyed in Japan, is simultaneously fascinated by Japanese advertising and frustrated by an inability to capture a significant piece of the market. Whereas some of the attitudes reflected by the Establishment Type may have been dissonance, some of what is reflected by the Emigrant Type may be wishful thinking or optimism about its future in Japan.

Advertising Is Not Changing

The Emigrant Type sees little difference between competitive advertising and comparative advertising. These professionals disagree with the idea that such advertisements should be avoided, but acknowledge that they most certainly are.

Two points bear directly on this dilemma: Japanese clients usually place most (if not all) of their advertising with either Dentsu or Hakuhodo, and scatter the remaining portions of the accounts among the other major agencies in Japan. Most foreign agencies produce advertising for foreign clients doing business in Japan. Given the extremely high cost of placing advertising in Japan, most foreign companies enter the marketplace with caution, rarely deciding to enter the marketplace with controversial or potentially insulting advertising. Instead, they take a conservative approach, opting against comparative advertising.

Thus, if comparative advertising is to appear, it would have to come from Japanese companies attempting to get a leg up. This seems unlikely, according to the Emigrant Type. After all, advertising in Japan is not designed to make a product seem superior -- even if it should be. Instead, advertisements in Japan rarely mention the products themselves (concentrating instead on the company that makes them), much less a competitor of the product.

The Changing Economy

To the Emigrant Type, changes in the system have caused parts of the marketplace to mirror America's: discount stores such as Daiei and Nagasakiya have proliferated, giving the consumer an environment similar to that experienced in an American Wal-Mart or K-Mart. In these stores, the selection is good, the prices are low, but the service is lousy relative to department stores or family-owned shops. Typically, employees at discount stores are part-timers being paid an hourly wage. At such stores, the emphasis clearly is on price -- even at the expense of customer service.

The Emigrant Type holds onto a hope that this emphasis on price will carry over to advertising. His reaction to the statements "In Japan, a reliance on abstract images has given way to noisy, aggressive pitch-naking by supermarket and discount chain operators" is neutral (z= -0.21). The Establishment Type disagrees with this statement (z= -0.65), while the Change Agent Type disagrees strongly (z= -1.26). The Emigrant Type would welcome a more aggressive advertising style in Japan. Then, perhaps his agency may gain an increased share of the advertising market in Japan. After all, aggressive advertising suggesting bargain pricing is right up his alley.

On the Outside

The Emigrant Type is fascinated with advertising in Japan. This Type has lived in Japan for years, studied the people and their culture, contemplated, questioned, developed strategies and executed advertising campaigns in Japan. But they are still trying to figure out what makes the Japanese advertising industry tick.

Content analyses by Hong et al. (1987) and Madden et al. (1986) both found Japanese magazine advertisements to be more informative than their American counterparts. The Emigrant Type agrees. In fact, some of the respondents ranked the negated statement -- "Japanese ads are less informative" -- among those with which they most disagreed. They also disagreed (z= - 0.86) with the statement "Like television ads, Japanese magazine ads include more emotional appeals than do American magazine ads."

With their emotional appeals and slick production, Japanese television advertisements may indeed be less informative, but print advertising is another story. Japanese magazine advertisements, often appearing in highly targeted publications, often include more information than American magazines. For instance, national American magazines like *Time* or *Newsweek* appeal to a broader demographic range than Japanese publications, which are targeted at smaller segments. Thus, it is not only possible but strategically sound to include specific product or company benefits within advertisements in these publications.

Japanese advertising has earned high marks for its humor in international competition (Chang et al., 1995). The Emigrant Type agrees with Kishii's (1988) conclusion that humor is used to create a bond of mutual feelings. Humor is common in Japanese television ads, ranging from the earthy, family-based or black humor appeals described by DiBenedetto et al. (1992) to the nonsensical humor described by Chang et al. (1995). Even though he may not understand the language, the Emigrant Type is amused and entertained by these advertisements. He also realizes that many of the clever ads would never work in the West.

To the Emigrant Type, it is a foregone conclusion that Japanese advertisements always have been, are, and always will be emotional. He strongly disagrees that future advertising will need to concentrate on product benefits, and that "the most essential point for advertising success in Japan is to create a strategy of communication driving home the essential and long-lasting values of the brand." (z=-.713) The later statement, which sounds like something from an advertising textbook, receives strong agreement from both the Establishment Type (z=1.786) an' Change Agent Type (z=1.109).

Branding is the Key

Although he fails to see its importance in Japanese advertising, the Emigrant Type realizes the impo of developing brand awareness. From the Emigrant Type's perspective, successful advertising revolves around establishment and maintenance of strong brands. The Emigrant Type, who may have been st ioned away from home country before beginning his career in Japan, sees the importance of strong branding as a general advertis principle, not a statement unique to Japan.

The Emigrant Type denies Christopher's (1986) charge that American companies are guilty of "Quarteritis," the affliction that causes greater concern with short-term profits than long-term prospects. If companies are guilty of such thinking, the advertising is not to blame, they believe. In this case, the Emigrant Type's judgment may be clouded by the fact that his advertising agency handles primarily major corporations that do not fall into this trap. Differing interpretations of "short-term" and "long-term" may be at work here. As suggested by Christopher (1986), what may be a long-term perspective to a Westerner may indeed be relatively short period of time to a Japanese advertising executive.

Type III: The Change Agent Type

The Emigrant Type represents advertising people outside the establishment who hold specific opinions about advertising in Japan. The Establishment Type represents advertising professionals in Japan who work as part of the establishment. The third and final type, the Change Agent Type, is a hybrid type demographically, comprised of three Japanese and two Western members. The following examination of the attitudes and beliefs of this type reveals a group that believes Japanese advertising is in the midst of change.

In general, the Change Agent Type believes that there is clear evidence of an emergence of attribute-oriented advertising in Japan, that advertising in Japan is beginning to more closely resemble advertising in America, and that there is an increase in the use of competitive advertisements in Japan. He not only believes change is underway, he expects the future to bring continued change.

Attribute-oriented Advertising

Unlike the Emigrant Type, the Change Agent Type strongly believes that today's Japanese advertising stresses product benefits and specific product attributes, and that savvy strategists call for attribute-oriented advertising. And, the Change Agent Type believe this trend will continue.

According to Johannson (1994), discount chains, emerging as a result of the modernization of the distribution system, are changing the face of retail shopping. With less emphasis on customer service and more consumer concern for price, advertising must provide more product-specific information for consumers. The Change Agent Type rejects two key elements of this argument. First, he disagrees with the premise that stores have traditionally been responsible for providing information about products. Second, while acknowledging that the distribution system is modernizing, he disagrees that this affects customer service.

Instead, the Change Agent Type believes that Japanese consumers acquire purchasing information from a variety of sources, including advertising. Erosion of customer service precipitated by modernization in the distribution system has been minor. After all, there are plenty of ways consumers acquire information at shopping outlets (e.g., customer service personnel, packaging, touching or trying products). And, while price represents a more important factor to Japanese consumers than it did a decade ago, this has little to do with customer service.

The Change Agents do agree that economic factors are affecting advertising in Japan. However, it is competition among Japanese companies -- a direct result of recessionary economic times -- that is driving changes in advertising in Japan. The Change Agent Type agreed that "intense competition in Japan has caused companies to venture into more comparative advertising." In addition, the Change Agent Type agrees vehemently that companies in Japan have been forced to reconsider their advertising strategies.

While changes in advertising are obvious to the Change Agent Type, they are much more subtle than "noisy, aggressive, pitch-making." He disagrees much more vehemently than the other two groups that such advertising has replaced more abstract images. The Change Agent acknowledges neither the existence of abstract images (because advertising is becoming more attribute-oriented), nor noisy, aggressive, pitch-making (because advertising in Japan is more sophisticated than that).

Becoming Americanized

As in America, branding is important. As in America, television advertisements are beginning to concentrate more on product superiority. As in America, advertising is not particularly well-respected. Western advertisers do develop long-term leverage for brands. In short, the Change Agent Type believes that there are many parallels between the advertising climates of Japan and the United States. Further, intense competition among Japanese companies, spurred by trying economic times, is causing advertising in Japan to look and feel more Western. It is here that the Change Agent Type differs from the Establishment and Emigrant Types, who, for different reasons, believe little is changing.

The Change Agent Type does not believe that changes are affecting all advertising in Japan. In fact, he agrees that established brands are continuing to use image advertising to maintain their position. It is new products that use more "hard sell" or product-specific advertising approaches.

Competition is OK

The Change Agent Type foresees an increase in the use of competitive advertising in Japan. The Change Agent Type believes that trying economic times have increased competition among businesses in Japan, spurring competitive advertisements. To him, this represents healthy change. While acknowledging that disparaging words are avoided, he disagrees vehemently that such ads are disrespectful and should be avoided.

The Change Agent Type appears to be differentiating between competitive and comparative advertising, agreeing that some companies are venturing into comparative advertising, but disagreeing about the use of disparaging words. Failing an operational definition of comparative advertising, it seems logical to speculate that to the Change Agent Type, like the Establishment Type, a comparative advertisement need not specifically address a competitor's company or product, but simply claim superiority. Suggesting that a product is the best, or "better than all others," may indeed be considered comparative in Japan, where it has traditionally been uncommon to specifically compare products, benefits or companies.

In general, the Change Agent Type sees advertising in Japan beginning to appear more Western, and predicts that in the future it will closely resemble American advertising. These changes are being caused by economic factors, but not the ones predicted by Johansson (1994). Difficult economic times, as predicted by Wood (1993), are causing intense competition within every sector of the Japanese economy, and companies have been forced to reconsider their advertising strategies. In doing so, they have opted for change.

Conclusion and Implications

A review of literature found four factors that appear to be affecting advertising in Japan: cultural values, economics, advertising strategy and types of advertisements. Cultural values and economics are large, macro concepts that affect more than just advertising. Advertising strategy and types of advertising, which may be affected by cultural values and/or economics, are more specific to the advertising industry. These dimensions were used to analyze the existing literature and to form the factorial grid for the Q-study. Here, they will be used to provide the framework for developing conclusions. The opinions expressed by the Establishment, Emigrant and Change Agent Types will be examined as they relate to each of the four dimensions.

Cultural Factors

This study revealed strong cultural differences between the three Types. Two of the three groups broke cleanly along racial or ethnic lines -- Japanese advertising professionals comprised all of the Establishment group, while foreign advertising professionals comprised the entire Emigrant Group. This suggests that one's race and culture strongly influence one's perception of the advertising within a culture. However, the differences in the Types extended well beyond the ethnic mix. In fact, the Change Agent Type was a hybrid group that differed dramatically from either of the other Types in its analysis of Japanese advertising.

Comparing the Establishment and Emigrant responses to statements about advertisements reveals a mutual admiration of the advertising in another's culture. The Establishment Type expressed admiration of Western advertising, and tended to compare advertising in Japan favorably with American advertising. For instance, he agreed that "As in America, the most essential point for advertising success in Japan is to create a strategy of communication driving home the essential and long-lasting values of the brand," and disagreed that "Western advertisers tend to take a more short-term perspective and therefore develop little long-term leverage for the brand." The Emigrant Type appears fascinated with Japanese advertising, agreeing that "humor is used to create a bond of mutual feelings," and that "appeals in Japanese television advertising appear tend to be emotional."

However, while there clearly is mutual respect for advertising in a foreign culture, both the Establishment and Emigrant Types point to advertising in their own culture with great pride. The Emigrant Type, schooled in the importance of branding, is quick to point to the number of American companies that have been successful in Japan.[1] He agrees that "American companies that have been successful in Japan have strong brands," and disagrees vehemently that "Western advertisers take a more short-term perspective and therefore develop little long-term leverage for the brand."

The Establishment Type also takes pride in advertising produced in his country. He agrees that television ads tend to be more emotional and less informative than their U.S. counterparts, and agrees that "Most Western advertising tends to make the product superior. Most Japanese advertising tries to make the product desirable."

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[1] Christopher (1986) provides a list of the 50 most successful American companies in Japan (by income) in the appendix of *Second to None: American Companies in Japan.*

At first blush, this distinction appears to be driven by nationalistic pride. However, it is more likely a reflection of cultural differences in the approach to advertising. The Establishment Type realizes the importance of branding, but believes that within his culture it is important to build trust, to form a relationship with the consumer, before addressing product benefits or attempting to begin the selling process. This approach is consistent with Chang et al.'s (1995) notion that many Japanese advertisements are more concerned with the name behind the brand than the brand itself. The Emigrant Type appears to acknowledge this distinction, but struggles with his ability to conform to it.

Economic Factors

The Japanese economy has been stagnant for most of the 1990s, as predicted by Wood (1993). The Japanese, well-documented savers, appear to be more concerned about price in making their shopping decisions. And, changes in the distribution system have made it possible for large, wholesale retailers to enter the Japanese marketplace. Taken together, these factors appear to lay the groundwork for changes not just in advertising, but in the way companies do business in Japan.

All three Types agree that economic conditions are affecting advertising in Japan. However, there are substantial differences in opinion on the level of change and the cause. The Change Agent, who believes that Japanese advertising is becoming more Western, thinks competition is at the root of economic change, and that competitive advertisements are an inevitability. The Establishment Type sees much less dramatic change to advertising. He acknowledges that times are tougher (even at his own agency) and that price has become more important to the consumer, but rejects the notion that advertising has been affected by changes in the distribution system or at service outlets. The Emigrant Type, who recognizes that he would benefit from a transition to more product-specific, benefit-oriented advertising, foresees little change in Japanese advertising. Unlike the other two types, he strongly agrees that "the modernization of Japan's distribution system has placed greater emphasis on price and less emphasis on customer service." Although he recognizes these changes, he holds little hope that any economic development will cause Japanese advertising to become more aggressive.

To the Change Agent, changes in advertising are primarily a result of changes in the marketplace. While he recognizes that advertisements themselves must conform to cultural expectations, he believes increased competition, spurred primarily by recessionary times, is causing advertising to change.

The Establishment and Emigrant Types acknowledge change in the Japanese marketplace, but are reluctant to cite economic reasons for changes in advertising. The Establishment Type believes that change is more subtle, but does admit a slight move toward Western advertising; the Emigrant Type, perhaps frustrated by his inability to crack the system, foresees little change in advertising in Japan. Unlike the Change Agent Type, the Establishment and Emigrant Types are more likely to attribute changes in advertising in Japan to cultural factors than economic factors.

One economic factor that could change the face of advertising in Japan would be a more Western philosophy regarding competing clients. At present, a company seeks an advertising agency because of its media clout or (less frequently) its creativity with little regard for the agency's client list. If Dentsu is servicing all of a company's competitors, this is not considered an important factor in deciding whether to use Dentsu's services. Such an arrangement has allowed the most powerful agencies to remain powerful, while making it difficult for smaller agencies to compete with them.

Predictably, the Establishment Type disagreed strongly that "In America, it is taboo for agencies to service competing clients. In Japan, it is common. This help explain the lack of competitive advertisement in Japan." The Emigrant Type agreed with the statement. This suggests that there may some truth to Johansson's (1994) poi that as long as agencies continue to service competing clients, competitive advertisements are unlikely to increas Japan. After all, only those executives tightly ensconced in the system believe that servicing competing client doesn't affect the ability of agencies to produce competitive advertisements. More light could be shed on this t by studying client and consumer perceptions of this issue.

Advertising Strategy

All three Types agree with the statement that "In Japan, companies have been forced to reconsider thei advertising strategies." However, this seems to mean something different to each Type.

The Change Agent agrees more strongly with this statement than any other (z=2.31), and much more so than the other two Types. To him, advertising strategists must recognize that competition is changing advertising. The Change Agent agrees that "Intense competition in Japan has caused companies to venture into more comparative advertising; that "In Japan, advertising strategies designed to make consumers feel good about the company are being replaced by those touting the attributes of specific products;" and that "Today's Japanese advertising strategists must consider more attribute-oriented advertising for their clients." To him, more aggressive advertising is already being produced by savvy professionals who recognize the need for it.

The Establishment Type expresses mild disagreement with all three statements above. He believes that changes in advertising strategy are situation-specific. He tends to agree (as does the Change Agent) that "Japanese advertising is becoming bipolarized, with new products requiring rational reason-to-buy benefits and established brands continuing to build upon their image and reputation." Changes in advertising strategy -- indeed, changes within Japanese society -- are likely to be more subtle to the Establishment Type than to the Change Agent Type.

One strategic point on which the Establishment and Emigrant Types strongly agree is Chang et al.'s (1995) contention that while most Western advertising tends to make the product superior, most Japanese advertising tends to make the product desirable. The Change Agent Type is neutral on this point.

Advertisements

When working directly with advertising professionals and discussing advertisements in the abstract, it is fair to assume that advertisements follow advertising strategy. Not surprisingly, then, the change Agent Type believes that there is a gradual emerge of attribute-oriented advertising in Japan, that ads are more aggressive than they once were, and that there is an increase in the stressing of product benefits in Japanese advertising. The Establishment and Emigrant Types are neutral or tend to disagree with these statements.

The Establishment Type agrees with many of the traditionally held beliefs about Japanese advertising: appeals in television advertising tend to be emotional and less informative than their U.S. counterparts, and they agree that there is often little relationship between the content of television advertisements and the advertised product. He also tends to agree that priority is placed on establishing company trust rather than addressing product quality.

Conclusions

Several specific conclusions emerge from this research:

1. Perceptions of advertising and advertising strategy in Japan are dependent upon one's vantage point. The three Types of advertising professionals revealed by this study each view advertising in Japan from a different perspective.

This is the desired effect of Q-methodology, which seeks to isolate the perceptions of different groups. It also seems simplistic and intuitive. However, it should be noted that such distinctions have not previously been made in analyzing advertising strategy in Japan, or advertisements themselves. Recognizing that different types of advertising professionals -- people who work with advertising every day -- view advertising in Japan differently suggests two important points.

First, it seems unfair (or at least premature) to draw general conclusions about advertising in Japan. If different types of advertising professionals view it markedly differently, chances are that consumers also fall into groups (perhaps similar groups, perhaps not). And, companies whose advertising is being developed by these agencies likely are hired by clients who also have divergent opinions about advertising, strategy and the appearance of advertisements.

Second, putative conclusions regarding advertisements in Japan should be questioned. Despite the fact that all three Types in this study acknowledged that Japanese advertising is more "soft sell," the mere existence of different types of perceptions suggests that perceptions on this and other issues may vary widely. At the very least, more comprehensive research in necessary before such general assumptions should be accepted.

2. Differences in background and/or race appear to be the foremost indicator of perceptions of advertising in Japan. The Establishment Type, comprised exclusively of Japanese advertising executives, is fundamentally different than the Emigrant Type, comprised exclusively of foreign advertising executives working in Japan. Although the Change Agent Type is a hybrid demographically, the strict demographic breakdown of the other two groups suggests that race is an important factor.

3. Perceptions of advertising in Japan appear to be shaped most by perceptions of culture. Although the Emigrant Type clearly recognizes changes in the economic system, differences in service levels at retail outlets, and a struggling economy, he does not believe these economic factors dramatically alter the state of advertising in Japan. The Establishment Type does not see economic change as dramatically as the other two groups, and appears to

believe that any changes in the advertising industry in Japan will be slow. Only the Change Agent Type believes there is a relationship between economic conditions and advertising in Japan.

4. One Type of advertising professional foresees sweeping change in Japanese advertising. The Change Agent Type, comprised of both Japanese and foreign advertising executives, appears to believe that advertising in Japan has become more competitive and will continue to move in that direction. In this regard, the Change Agent is unlike the Establishment Type, who sees only gradual change in an extremely successful industry, and the Emigrant Type, who believes change would be good but is precluded by other cultural factors. Such changes will occur at two levels: advertising agencies will have to compete more for business from increasingly streamlined client organizations; and advertising itself will become more attribute-oriented or product specific.

Implications

The results of this study have several implications for advertising professionals in Japan and for researchers interested in gaining additional knowledge about Japanese advertising.

1. In Japan, a strong case can be made for specialization in advertising. Proponents of specialization contend that differences among countries (e.g., culture, industrial development, media availability, legal restrictions) must be considered when developing advertising strategies for that country. Standardization proponents tend to downplay cultural differences, contending that consumers around the world share similar characteristics (Mueller, 1992) One conclusion of this study is that advertising in Japan appears to be heavily influenced by culture and perception of culture. This would suggest that unique cultural factors must be considered when developing advertising in Japan.

Foreign companies that have been successful in Japan appear to understand this. Seeking to influence Japanese consumers, many contact Dentsu or Hakuhodo to help them develop advertising in Japan, thereby assuring themselves that finished advertisements will not miss the mark culturally.

2. Schudson (1984) noted that advertising can be viewed as a reflection of culture. The results of this study certainly appear to uphold that maxim. Indeed, if advertising is a reflection of culture, cultural background and an understanding of a specific culture appears to affect advertising. This study suggests that one's cultural heritage and understanding of culture influence the perceptions of advertising professionals in Japan about advertising strategy

and the advertisements themselves.

All three Types of advertising professionals identified by this study agree that companies in Japan must reconsider their advertising strategies. These types break almost cleanly along racial or cultural lines, with the largest group compromised exclusively of professionals employed within Japan's largest agencies and the next group comprised exclusively of foreign professionals working in Japan. Combining these two points with Schudson's (1984) conclusion suggests that Japan may be experiencing a subtle change in societal norms. As viewed by advertising professionals, change appears to be driven first by cultural factors and secondarily by economic factors.

3. The Change Agent Type believes much more so than the Establishment or Emigrant Type that advertising in Japan is undergoing severe change. Spurred by competition resulting from tough economic times, companies have begun to use much more competitive advertising strategies. From his vantage point, advertising in Japan has become more Western in its appearance and strategic approach. The advertisements themselves are more specific about product attributes than the traditional image-oriented advertisements well-documented by content analysis studies (e.g., Lin, 1993; Ramparasad & Hasegawa, 1990, 1992; Mueller, 1987, 1992; Hong et al., 1987), and reported by a variety of sources interviewed.

The existence of the Change Agent Type suggests the possibility that advertising is changing in Japan. Rogers' (1995) Diffusion of Innovation model suggests that innovations begin with early adopters, who set the stage for change by influencing opinion leaders who find an innovation useful. The Change Agent in this study could be viewed as an early adopter of a more attribute-oriented advertising style, one that represents the beginning of innovation in Japanese advertising.

The ramifications of the Change Agent Type's perceptions include a possible effect on other elements of the marketing mix. Specifically, if advertising is becoming more "hard sell," with more emphasis on products than company image, the field of public relations may play a much more important role than it traditionally has in Japan. A wide range of Western-style public relations activity -- from media relations practices to special events -- could emerge in Japan to fill the image-building void left by a move toward more product-specific advertising.

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Appendix

Appendix I: Cultural Factor Statements

8. There appears to be an increase in the use of English language or Western music or symbols in Japanese advertising.
11. Fifteen seconds is plenty of time to reach the Japanese consumer.
14. Poster ads have reached an artform in Japan.
15. Indirect rather than direct forms of expression are preferred in Japanese advertising messages.
17. In Japanese television advertisements, humor is used to create a bond of mutual feelings.
18. Unlike American advertisements, priority in Japan is placed on company trust rather than product quality.
25. In Japan, competitive advertisements are disrespectful and should be avoided in all circumstances.
26. Unlike America, advertising and people who work in advertising are respected in Japan.
29. In America, it is common to trumpet one client's advantage over another.
38. Cultural emphases on respect and fair competition will assure that Japanese advertising will never be as blatant as American advertising.

Appendix II: Economic Factor Statements

1. Japan's prolonged recession is bringing an uncustomary element of aggression to the country's normally low-key advertising.
12. It is less common to list price in American magazine advertisements than Japanese magazine advertisements.
20. Western advertisers tend to take a more short-term perspective and therefore develop little long-term leverage for the brand.
27. In America, it is taboo for agencies to service competing clients. In Japan, it is common. This helps explain the lack of competitive advertisements in Japan.
29. Stores in Japan have traditionally fulfilled much of the information function concerning product attributes, allowing advertising to concentrate on image building.
30. The proliferation of low-service discount outlets in Japan has changed advertising strategy -- advertising must be more explanatory.
33. Like Western consumers, today's Japanese consumers must consider price in their shopping decisions.
35. The modernization of Japan's distribution system has placed greater emphasis on price and less emphasis on customer service.
37. Intense competition has caused Japanese companies to venture into more comparative advertising.
40. American companies that have been successful in Japan have strong brands.

Appendix III: Advertising Strategy Statements

2. In Japan, a reliance on abstract images has given way to noisy, aggressive, pitch-making by supermarket and discount chain operators.
7. Unlike in America, television ads in Japan tend to concentrate less on product superiority and more on packaging and availability information.
13. In Japan, magazines are becoming even more highly targeted, and advertisements in them are following suit.
19. As in America, the most essential point for advertising success in Japan is to create a strategy of communication driving home the essential and long-lasting values of the brand.
21. Most Western advertising tends to make the product superior. Most Japanese advertising tries to make the product desirable.
22. While advertising outside of Japan is designed to convince, Japanese creative is designed to

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persuade.
24. Unlike America, disparaging words about a competitor are avoided in Japan.
32. Japanese advertising is becoming bipolarized, with new products requiring rational reason-to-buy benefits and established brands continuing to build upon their image and reputation.
35. In Japan, today's companies have been forced to reconsider their advertising strategies.
39. Today's Japanese advertising strategists consider more attribute-oriented advertising for their clients.

Appendix IV: Hard Sell vs. Soft Sell Statements

3. There seems to be gradual emergence of attribute-oriented advertising in Japan.
4. There is an increase in the stressing of product benefits in Japanese advertisements
5. Appeals in Japanese television advertising tend to be emotional.
6. Japanese television commercials tend to be less informative than their U.S. counterparts.
9. Like television ads, Japanese magazine ads include more emotional appeals than do American magazine ads.
10. Japanese magazine ads are less informative than their American counterparts.
16. In Japanese television advertisements, there is often little relationship between ad content and the advertised product.
23. The increase in the use of comparative or superlative adjectives in Japanese advertisements makes them appear more Western.
31. Like American advertising, future advertising in Japan will need to concentrate more on communicating product benefits.
36. In Japan, advertising strategies designed to make consumers feel good about the company are being replaced by those touting the attributes of specific products.

Running head: CODES OF CONDUCT

CODES OF CONDUCT:
PUBLIC IMAGES AND SILENT VOICES

Jean Grow vonDorn

Abstract

This paper looks at the evolution of codes of conduct as they relate to manufacturing policies, brand imaging and youthful consumer responses to these issues. I argue that young consumers are generally ignored by activists who tend to focus on regulation. Yet, these consumers could provide an additional avenue of activism. By consciously engaging young consumers, a vast potential for successful activism abides within the grasp of activists.

INTRODUCTION

Many of the perspectives of classical neo-liberalism are based upon rational thought that singles out the pursuit of "wealth and power as recurrent motives for human action" (Augelli, p. 26). This narrow view leaves little room for actions unrelated to the pursuit of wealth and power. While community and its collective actions are parts of the modern neo-liberal world, community through the lens of the neo-liberal eye is primarily something that evolves out of an open and free marketplace. Hence, actions not oriented toward the marketplace are often minimized because, in the neo-liberal view, it is the market that should thus sustain community.

Classical neo-liberalism often does not allow room for critical reflection or identification of common interests or new forms of collective action unless, of course, there is market orientation. In fact, according to Gramsci, "liberalism treats the archaic bases for collective action as passions, as negative motivations, that we should repress" (Augelli, p. 29). Is it any wonder that global corporations resist the notion of intervention by groups who might be working from passionate or personal perspectives? It is particularly problematic if their actions involve anything on a collective level. Certainly passionate collective social action suggests near lunacy from the perspective of neo-liberals because it impedes the growth and development of wealth and power. Collective action for social gain, according to neo-liberalism, often does not allow the "freehand of the market" to transform the marketplace.

Yet, on the other side of the neo-liberal spectrum are human beings struggling against this hegemonic structure in very 'passionate' ways. For them the necessity of synthesizing their past and present outside the realm of wealth and power, while remaining fully cognizant of the neo-liberal dynamics, is essential. The knowledge of the neo-liberal economic structures often forms the basis from which they position themselves to fight for their rights. As Gramsci stated:

> Every social group, coming into existence on the original terrain of an essential function in the world of economic production, creates together with itself, organically, one or more strata of intellectuals which give it homogeneity and an awareness of its own function not only in the economic but also in the social and political fields (Augelli p. 28).

I would argue that it is imperative to be consistently mindful that a narrow focus allows for narrow conclusions. In terms of codes of conduct the focus must be broadened to encompass many perspectives, in an attempt to hear all voices and to see all potential possibilities. Therefore, I have expanded my research to include voices not normally heard in this debate.

Specifically, I will look at three issues. First, I will briefly examine what codes of conduct are. Second, I will give an overview on the current state of affairs, both legislative or regulatory. Finally, I will look at how young consumers respond to these issues, if they are even aware of them.

When addressing consumer's knowledge I will be looking at adolescents because they often form the key target markets of apparel manufactures whose marketing goals include securing young, potentially life-long customers. By doing so I hope to gain an expanded understanding of their knowledge about both codes of conduct and brand imaging or advertising. To effectively address these issues and to reach out to adolescent consumers I focused on two companies: Nike and Levi's. I chose Nike and Levi's because both target a youthful consumer audience and because both companies play an interesting role in the codes of conduct debate.

In the literature I reviewed voices were given exclusively to adults: corporate, non-governmental, or consumers. But the actual targeted consumers of many of these products are often adolescents. It is clearly the intention of Nike, in particular, to secure their consumers as young adolescents in anticipation of holding onto them as life-long customers. Why these consumers have a minuscule voice in the codes of conduct debate is troublesome.

If the goal of neo-liberal corporations is profitability, it is certainly their business to know who the people are who consume their products. The pursuit of this information is the focus of much of corporate America's market research. Yet the targeting of adolescents seems largely lost upon labor, activists and the press. If the consumers who purchase or influence the purchase of these products, are generally not aware of the issues from which the codes of conduct have arisen, then it could be argued, that there is very little corporations need to worry about relative to long-term consumer backlash.

Without an understanding of the knowledge adolescents, or any targeted consumer group, may have about these issues it is impossible to accurately access the ultimate impact codes of conduct will have on the bottom line of neo-liberal corporations. For if the consumers of the goods have little concern about the issues embroiled in the codes of conduct, the codes of conduct will amount to little more than window dressings--toothless public relations propaganda, designed primarily to appease the press and keep serious regulation at bay.

CODES OF CONDUCT

Codes of conduct have been a part of regulatory history for more than thirty years. They were originally formed as a response to economic policies that put under-developed countries at risk to the predatory behaviors of First World countries. A common practice has been for First World companies to look for developing countries where there is extensive availability of low cost labor and/or where an export market can be cultivated. This has historically lead to labor exploitation. The first regulatory efforts to address issues of labor exploitation were attempted through the International Labor Organization (ILO), the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) and most recently as a side agreement to the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA).

In the last few years corporations and human rights activists along with labor organizations, the two blocks that comprise the voice of labor, have began to find some common ground. In the past, according to Compa, the link between expanding global economic activity and human rights has been at best "tenuous." Historically, business interests, labor and activists have seen the issues very differently. "As one critic of 'corporate social responsibility' puts it, 'the company that seeks to pursue profit and do 'good works' at the same time is likely to do neither very well' " (Compa, p. 181). The bottom line for corporations continues to be the pursuit of profit. But more recently the two sides have sustained a dialogue leading to some changes in policies.

The side that supports the voice of labor has, of course, a differing perspective from that of business. From this perspective, human rights activists tend to look at the most hideous violations of political and civil rights. According to Compa, they failed to take up the issues of labor rights and more specifically they failed to look at how the expanding role of international business was playing a role. For them international labor rights were seen as "the narrow technical concern of the International Labor Organization" (Compa, p. 181). Because of this polarity, action on labor rights was for the most part a peripheral issue. Only recently have activist begun to work together with labor in an effort to impact regulation enforcement through attempted monitoring of manufacturing by Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs).

Yet, to more clearly understand the historical evolution of codes of conduct it is important to look at the evolution of the codes themselves including both external and internal codes. Internal codes refer to those developed within corporations. External refers to those developed outside of corporations, usually by non-governmental bodies. Further, there are two basic types of external codes: multilateral governmental codes and privately shaped codes. With this I now turn to external codes of conduct.

Multilateral Government Codes

The first multilateral code evolved out of the United Nations (UN). It was called the "Code of Conduct on Transnational Corporations," and it focused on human rights and the fair treatment of workers. Although it was "promoted in the early and mid-1970s at a time when the 'Group of 77,' developing countries was aggressively confronting the industrialized world" (Compa, p. 183), it was never adopted by the UN or any other world body. In fact support for this code has largely been eroded by the ever-expanding global economy that has forced Third World countries to compete on an uneven playing field.

In 1976 the OECD tried its hand at codes of conduct by establishing the "Guidelines for Multinational Enterprises." These codes focused on the right of labor to organize and bargain collectively, and the requirement of employers to notify employees about such information, as well as bans on discrimination. The OECD never provided any specific ways to present findings of misconduct by corporations and there was no coercive enforcement mechanism (Compa, p. 184). All in all they were unenforceable codes, as they have no teeth.

The ILO was the next to try its hand at codes of conduct. Overall the ILO codes had a broader range than did the OECD codes. They provided for a more detailed complaint system with a "Standing Committee on Multilateral Enterprises" which was empowered to investigate and make specific findings. Nevertheless, like the OECD codes, the ILO codes had no sanctions to back them up. Enforcement is "a matter of private consultation or public embarrassment" (Compa, p.185). With enforcement all but ignored these codes too have been ineffectual.

The last multilateral code I will address is the NAALC. The NAALC, which evolved as a side agreement to NAFTA, is stronger than the ILO codes, but it too lacks significant enforcement possibilities. Rather, there is a tiered pattern of action that is implemented by a committee. Action is initiated when a neighboring country or an organization within a neighboring country makes a formal complaint. The investigation is then facilitated in the country where the complaint has been lodged. The NAALC appears to be having some limited successes. But it faces similar difficulties as the previous multilateral codes discussed because it lacks legal recourse to enforce compliance (Compa, 1997). Additionally, monitoring is a difficult proposition primarily due to the costs that must often be shouldered by labor or NGOs.

Privately Shaped Codes

There are numerous privately shaped codes. For the sake of brevity I will give a diverse overview of a small number of them. Perhaps the single most prominent code of conduct, although not the first, was the Sullivan Principles that took shape in 1977. Initially developed as a response to American corporate activities in South Africa during the apartheid era, these codes targeted the companies who worked in South Africa. Specifically, the codes addressed their discriminatory practices, employee housing practices and their lack of promotional opportunities for Black and Coloured South Africans (Compa, p.182). The Sullivan Principles established elaborate compliance audit mechanisms that were administered by outside auditors and NGOs. However, in the long run Sullivan himself rejected the Sullivan Principles. Sullivan, a Black board member of General Motors (GM), felt that without a social movement the principles were simply ineffectual. They were later superseded by the passage of economic sanctions against South Africa by the United States congress.

Following the Sullivan Principles came a series of other codes, all following a pattern set out by the Sullivan Principles: the MacBride Code in 1984, the Slepak Principles in 1988 and the Miller Codes in 1991. Each addressed labor issues in various countries each in similar ways. The MacBride Code was designed to address issues that related to United States corporations doing business in Northern Ireland. The Slepak Principles were a set of codes created in response to U.S. companies doing business in the former Soviet Union and were named after a prominent Soviet dissident. The Miller Codes focused on China and addressed issues similar to the Slepak Principles. Representative John Miller introduced them, as a bill in the House of Representatives. Neither the Slepak nor the Miller codes found support in the House of Representatives, primarily because of the huge potential economic gain by multinational corporations within both China and the former Soviet Union. Finally, the MacBride codes were largely ineffectual, just as the Sullivan Principles had been, due primarily to lack of enforcement (Compa, p. 185).

In 1994 the Maquiladora Code evolved to address the concerns about pollution, unsafe working conditions and poverty-level wages of factory workers in the border zone between the United States and Mexico. It was "promoted by the AFL-CIO and a collation of religious and environmental groups" (Compa, p. 186). While it had strong support at its inception, implementation has been another story. Only one corporation committed itself to abide by these standards and today they are rarely enforced.

Another privately shaped code was the Honduras Apparel Manufacturers Association (AHM) Code of Conduct. This code was developed in July of 1997. It evolved out of a congress held by the AHM which felt strongly about implementing its own laws along with the participation of the American companies which manufactured there such as: "Jockey, Anvil, Fruit of the Loom, Van Heusen and Levi's" among others (Davis, p. B3). These codes are now in place and appear to be "working." They are supposedly monitored by some NGOs and Honduran manufactures. A description of what "working" constitutes appeared in the Washington Times:

> These workers were not scared, or fearing for their security, or otherwise oppressed or intimidated when their superiors walked into the room. Their attention was focused on being productive. Like good workers, they were devoting their full attention to their duties and taking pride in their work (Davis, p. B3).

This description does cause one to question the true success of these codes, as well as the obvious neo-liberal bias of the writer. Nevertheless, the AHM Codes are another indication of codes that are shaped privately, in this case local manufactures in Honduras.

With this overview of some external codes, it is worth considering why internal codes of conduct (discussed in more detail in the next section) have now come to the forefront. Of course, political pressure and pressure from the press have to some degree played a role. It is also worth noting the impact brand image has had. Any possible damage to a brand's image is taken very seriously by most global competitors. As Compa states:

> Broad codes of conduct sponsored by groups seeking a declaration of acceptance and compliance by multinational corporations have not fared well in obtaining company adherents... Understandable, international business mangers resist a "one size fits all approach... (Yet, more and more) companies are most vulnerable in sectors of consumer goods heavily dependent on brand image...In a global marketplace with almost instant communications, there are no hiding places for companies. International media will expose inconsistency and irresponsibility in corporate behavior, and vigilant consumer will respond (Compa, p. 186, 87).

As we look across the terrain of legislative and regulatory options created by multilateral or privately shaped external codes of conduct, it is evident that thus far they have been fairly ineffective. Additionally, accords such as those from the ILO and OECD have largely proven to be guidelines for the few socially conscious corporations who wish to abide by such standards. They have also enabled modest pressure to be applied by governmental bodies or NGOs. Yet, overall they have been largely symbolic and generally unenforceable. With this I turn to the current state of affairs and the subsequent growth of internal codes of conduct.

THE CURRENT STATE OF AFFAIRS

The current state of affairs revolving around internal codes of conduct involves numerous aspects including (but not limited to) global manufacturing opportunities and policies, various political situation and institutions, labor costs, media pressures, brand imaging and consumer's response. For my purposes looking at the marketing issues involved in the pursuit of profits is as important as the manufacturing issues from which codes of conduct have evolved. What is of particular interest is how these two elements pose serious conflicts for neo-liberal multi-national corporations (MNCs).

Manufacturing policies and brand imaging came together in the summer of 1996 forming explosive results. The exposé of sweatshops in Honduras that produced clothing with Kathie Lee Gifford's label for Walmart posed a serious crisis for manufactures. This exposé created pressure that mounted, as the issue of sweatshops became front-page news. Sweatshops became an issue that had to be dealt with because the press and activists were hot on the heels of manufacturers who used sweatshops.

Prior to this activists had already begun to take their fight directly to the boardroom in an effort to pressure corporations to change their manufacturing policies. In early 1996 they had begun actively soliciting support from stockholders. Yet, it is important to note that this was not human rights activists' first foray into the codes of conduct battlefield. They had been actively working toward a resolution on the issue of labor rights, in apparel manufacturing, for nearly six years (Ramey, p.10). However, it was really the Kathie Lee Gifford exposé that broke through into the public sphere.

Yet, to really reach the roots of internal codes of conduct it is important to turn back the clock still further. In 1991 Levi Strauss & Co. developed the:

> 'global sourcing and operating guidelines,' a set of guidelines for manufacturing ethics - the first internal codes of conduct by a major global apparel manufacturer. The guidelines are two-fold: The Business of Partner Terms of Engagement and The Country Assessment Guideline (Levi Strauss, p. 5).

The terms of engagement cover ethical standards, legal requirements, environmental requirements, community involvement and employment standards. Employment standards addressed issues of ages and benefits, working hours, child labor, prison labor and forced labor, health and safety, discrimination and disciplinary practices.

Levi's has used their "guidelines" to promote their company, but the guidelines have also functioned as a model for the industry. Levi's CEO, who from the beginning has appeared to sincerely embrace workplace equity issues, lost no time in promoting Levi's socially conscious public image.

> In free-market societies long-term prosperity depends upon a favorable environment for business enterprise. Robert D. Haas, the president and CEO of Levi Strauss, captured this idea when he said (1984), 'Corporations can be short-sighted and worry only about our mission, products, and competitive standing. But we do it at our peril. The day will come when corporations will discover the price we pay for our indifference. We must realize that by ignoring the needs of others, we are actually ignoring our own needs in the long run. We may need the goodwill of a neighborhood to enlarge a corner store. We may need well-funded institutions of higher learning to turn out the skilled technical employees we require. We may need adequate community health care to curb absenteeism in our plants. Or we may need fair tax treatment for an industry to be able to compete in the world economy. However small or large our enterprise, we cannot isolate our business from the society around us. Nor can we function without its goodwill (Watson, p. 99).

Haas' words are reinforced by Levi's director of public policy who stated "Our brand name and our reputation are our most important assets" (Mongelluzzio, p. 1A).

It is ironic that Levi's, who has a set of strong internal codes of conduct, does not support the Apparel Industry Partnership—the currently evolving set of apparel industry codes of conduct. Haas along with numerous other industry leaders has made the decision to stick with their own internal codes. Levi's, like many other apparel manufactures, prefers a non-interventionist code system. In the case of Levi's their own codes are internally monitored with the assistance of NGOs, who they contract with to do the actual monitoring. While Levi's has a track record that appears to indicate sincere desire for strong compliance with well crafted codes, many others manufacturers are not nearly as forth coming. Past experience had indicated most manufactures prefer internal monitoring and often vigorously resist external monitoring or oversight by NGOs.

The Gap is another irony in this unfolding story. In 1995 they were heavily targeted by human rights groups as a retailer who did not seriously comply with codes of conduct. The National Labor Committee (NLC) exposed their child labor practices and other workplace violations at Mandarin International, a contractor's plant in El Salvador. The Gap was:

> a juicy target because the company relies on it image as hip and responsible to market its clothes to young people. Stunned by the barrage of bad publicity and consumer protest, the Gap was the first company to agree to independent monitoring of its compliance with corporate codes of conduct (Moberg, p.19).

Today, the Gap and Levi's are companies who have made major strides toward codes of conduct improvements and compliance but are also unwilling to sign unto the Apparel Industry Partnership in part because corporate autonomy and independence is a hallmark of neo-liberalism. Agreeing to live by rules implemented at least in part by competitors, human rights activists and labor organizations is much more than most corporations can swallow.

Additionally, without a consistently activated and educated consumer, in terms of labor issues and codes of conduct, action from a corporate perspective may not be necessary.

Complicating matters are the varying global environments that MNCs find themselves in. Circumstances change depending upon the country in which the manufacturing plant is located. Government policies may also vary in both their written form and the government's enforcement of those policies. Further complicating issues of compliance are the many cultural differences between each country in which MNCs operate.

Levi's, for instance, found one of their manufacture's using young girls as laborers. Initially, assuming the solution could be resolved by simply releasing the girls, Levi's quickly found itself embroiled in a complex and difficult situation. If they released the girls, it would have potentially create more hardship for them and put them at even greater risk. The solution Levi's had to develop was complex and very much based on local custom and culture. The solution:

> if the children stopped working, Levi Strauss would cover the costs of their schooling. When they turned fifteen, the factory owner would hire them back. And in the meantime, the jobs would be filled, where possible, by other members of their family. The link between corporate image and commercial success is so important today that it is being addressed on an industry-wide basis (Mongellusso, p. 1A).

There are few easy solutions to the complex problems of a globalized labor-force. Yet Levi's, as a rare example, appears to be attempting to find ethical solutions to its labor problems.

To date a collaborative effort by the Apparel Industry Partnership task force has now returned to an external codes solution and has garnered only modest industry support as is evident by Levi's and the Gap rejection of the Partnership. Support, for the Partnership, by activists is varied as well. Although some view it as monumental because the task force involved not only apparel manufactures but also human rights activists and labor organizations (an industry first), others are less enthusiastic. Elaine Bernard the director of Harvard's trade union program concluded that the code isn't enough. " 'It calls for an end to child labor, prison labor and physical abuse, but it does not set standards for work with dignity'...the code she said 'is tantamount to giving the good housekeeping seal of approval to a kinder, gentler sweatshop' " (Blumenthal, p. B4).

President Clinton has from the inception of the Apparel Industry Partnership been a strong proponent. But he insists that the agreement's strength is dependent upon its gaining wide industry acceptance. Few manufactures have signed on. In fact, there are only seven of the original eight left as signatories: Liz Claiborne, Nicole Miller, Nike, Reebok, Hanover Direct, Phillips-Van Heusen and Patagonia (Ramey, p. 10).

fades into the past and with it any fleeting sense of corporate responsibility. In part this is because the cohesive social groups which naturally grow out of community are now more dispersed. Groups that once grew out of solidarity within a corporate "home" environment are now often dispersed as companies divest themselves of the once socially powerful home bases. As corporate "home" responsibility fades, so too do the tightly knit communities that once thrived within and around them. In this sense globalization has taken its toll on social consciousness and community as well.

Further, corporation's tend to react only to mounting pressure when they can see clear correlation's to a decline in profits. In terms of priorities, community and social consciousness are a distant second to profitability. It is a rare corporation that, on its own, chooses to take a step forward for reasons of ethical social consciousness. Yet, numerous companies take giant leaps forward in the "name" of social consciousness because it supports their marketing image and often increases brand loyalty. Levi's, as discussed earlier, is a company that took a step forward toward social consciousness, and of course, profitability. On the other hand, Nike is a good example of a company that took a step forward in the "name" of social consciousness.

It is noteworthy that Nike has been a very public figure in the evolution of the Apparel Industry Partnership, as a member of the task force. This is primarily because Nike needed to respond to the mounting negative pressure it had been receiving from both activists and the press. So, any analysis of its actions needs to be tempered with an understanding of its public relations motives. Regardless Nike provides a good case study of a corporation willing to sign-on in contrast to Levi's a corporation who has declined to do so.

The development of loyal young consumers is essential for Nike, especially in athletic footwear. Although that focus is shifting somewhat as Nike's apparel divisions are taking off. Nevertheless, as Nike's annual report states: "The future of sports lives in the hearts and souls of young athletes. It always has. Always will" (Nike, 1997).

It is precisely the "hearts and souls" that the battle of market share is all about. In corporate terms the weight codes of conduct play are strictly measured in terms of consumer awareness, brand loyalty, public pressure, the true viability of monitoring and their combined ultimate impact on the bottom line.

While Nike's record on the manufacturing practices is worse then Levi's, it could be argued that Nike's record is fairly comparable with many others in the apparel industry. . Nike with its highly visible media presence, in many ways, became an easy target for activists. Activists have worked, over the past few years, to expose Nike's dismal manufacturing practices. In response, and only after sustained public pressure, Nike has attempted to implement some changes in their workplace policies and practices. But, I would argue, only to the extent that is necessary to help silence their critics because Nike, unlike Levi's, does not appear to have a genuine commitment to ethical practices.

Nevertheless, from their perspective they have "sincerely" shifted course. Specifically, their improvements in manufacturing issues are highlighted in a report by "GoodWorks International," Andrew Young's consulting firm, that conducted an investigation of Nike factories in Vietnam in June 1997. The GoodWorks report was introduced with a letter from Philip Knight, CEO of Nike, and followed up with a three page list of "recommendations." The entire document was a tri-fold collateral piece with the GoodWorks summary on the second and third pages, and it was inserted in the Nike Annual Report.

Young's report summary lists "Overall Findings" and states: "It is my sincere belief that NIKE is doing a good job in the application of its Codes of Conduct. But NIKE can and should do better" (GoodWorks p. 2). Additionally, Young opens his "Findings" section with: "Factories we visited that produce NIKE goods were clean, organized, adequately ventilated and well lit. They certainly did not appear to be what most Americans would call 'sweatshops.' " (GoodWorks, p. 2). The summary closes its recommendations with:

> NIKE should consider some type of 'external monitoring' on an ongoing basis to ensure effective application of the Code of Conduct. It is important that NIKE's professional audits conducted by Ernst & Young and Price Waterhouse be continued. It should consider establishing an 'ombudsman' in each major country with manufacturing facilities. NIKE also might assemble a small panel of distinguished international citizens to monitor factories (GoodWorks, p. 3).

Or to at least Nike should improve their public relations.

In fairness to the report, Young also recommends that they should be more "aggressive in enforcement," develop "worker representatives," create a factory grievance system, and expand their dialogue with the human rights community and labor groups (GoodWorks, p. 3). Yet, Young's report appears to be much less critical of Nike than the report by Ernst & Young that was leaked to the press in early November 1997—as compared to freely released by Nike. It is also important to note that Young's report follows the Ernst & Young report by six months

In the Ernst & Young report, prepared in January 1997, it was found that

> Workers at the factory near Ho Chi Minh City were exposed to carcinogens that exceeded local legal standards by 177 times in parts of the plant and the 77 percent of the employees suffered from respiratory problem...The Ernst & young report painted a dismal picture of thousands of young women, most under age 25, laboring 10 1/2 hours a day, six days a week, in excessive heat and noise and in foul air, for slightly more than $10. a week (Greenhouse p. B2).

While the reports span six months it is nevertheless apparent that the finding of each were quite divergent. It is also significant to note that Young did not visit the factories highlighted in the Ernst & Young report, which leads one to be suspicious of the motives in selecting the factories that Young visited while in Vietnam.

What is significant about the contrast in these two reports is not that Nike is so reticent to enforce the codes of conduct, which appears to be the case, but that Nike is one of only seven companies willing to sign onto the Apparel Industry Partnership. If Nike as one of the signatories of this Partnership is apparently willing to turn its eyes away from clear, how willing are non-signatories expected to be?

Equally imperative questions are what do consumers know about codes of conduct in general or the Apparel Industry Partnership or violations of codes of conduct by MNCs? Is there an awareness of this issue among the general population? Are stories on codes of conduct picked up by the local press? Or is coverage of these issues primarily in elite press, such as the New York Times, U.S. News and World Report and others--far away from the kitchen tables of consumers in Detroit, Milwaukee and Buffalo? Do shows like "60 Minutes" have an impact? And, further how might consumers respond to the issue of labor rights, as covered in codes of conduct, in general? With these questions begging an answer, I turn to the voice of consumers.

VOICES

It would appear that with the hundreds of pages I have scoured for information about codes of conduct, the voices of consumers would be quickly evident. They are not. What appears to be happening is a heated debate among the elites: press, activists, union leaders and corporate executives. This is, in some ways, the most alarming information I have unearthed in the process of this research.

If MNCs continue to work under the premise that wealth and power are the ultimate goals and to achieve this they must narrowly target and maintain loyal customers; why then is so little heard from the very individuals who purchase the products, leading MNCs to increased profitability?

While I can only speculate about the answer to this question, I can attempt to give a voice to those consumers. In this case, it is a small voice. It is the voice of young consumers. But, before I address the finding of my four focus groups I wish to note the findings of the single article I found that gave rise to the voices of consumers.

In this article Marymount College, one of the most active academic institutions on issues of codes of conduct, had conducted some survey work. The finding did not list the sample population, but one can safely assume it was an adult population. Marymount's finding are initially encouraging and then ultimately quite disturbing:

> (They) commissioned a public attitude survey which found that four out of five consumers questioned would avoid shopping at stores selling goods made under sweatshop conditions...more than 80% of those surveyed said they would be willing to pay an additional $1 on a $20 item if the garment was guaranteed to be made in a legitimate shop. Consumers, however, say style, price and quality are more important considerations (Morrissey, p.94).

The last line which states: "style, price and quality are more important considerations" is both alarming and discouraging. While the attitudes of young people, the target of Nike in particular, are important is terms of their knowledge of codes of conduct issues, it is equally important to probe deeper into what "style, price and quality" might mean to them.

To follow this lead a small sampling was conducted consisting of four focus groups in one city: Appleton, Wisconsin. Appleton is a homogeneous predominately White community of 70,000 people. The sample age range was eleven to seventeen. I selected the groups by classroom, from three different Appleton public schools: a sixth grade class from Edison Elementary School with twenty-one students, an eighth grade class from Roosevelt Middle School with eight students, an eleventh grade class from Appleton East High School with twenty-eight students, and a twelfth grade class also from Appleton East High School with fourteen students.

I conducted the groups by telling the students I wished to "hear their voices" and wanted to know what they thought about Nike and Levi's, and their advertising. I did not bring up the issues of sweatshops or codes of conduct in any class, except with the eighth grade group where self-directed discussion stagnated. I felt it was imperative to identify whether the students had knowledge of this issue, without prompting. In each other classroom I allowed the students to talk freely about their knowledge of the two companies advertising practices and anything else they might know. I also showed two Nike commercials, near the end of three of the sessions (eleventh, eighth and sixth grade). Both commercials featured Tiger Woods and had clear messages of racial equality, as a means of introducing Mr. Woods as their new golf-wear spokesperson.

The discussion in each group immediately turned to Nike. Levi's never came into any of the discussions. The first comments in three of the four groups were about the celebrities who endorse Nike products. Michael Jordan was by far the most recalled in all focus groups.

The twelfth grade students leaped into a conversation about Nike. Nike's advertising "made themselves look like a nice company." But, "lately they've had to cover their butts because of child labor laws" commented a boy and that lead to a discussion about the codes of conduct (not by name). I asked how they heard about these issues. Some replied in "the paper." Other kids said "on TV."

A student commented their (Nike's) "priorities are screwed up" because they spend their money on the commercials not the kids. Another student suggested that it had no real impact on "our lives. Most people aren't going to change." "Its all contingent on sales," said another. "As long as they have celebrities they will be fine" commented another. "Nike is too powerful," said one boy, while another student said, "society today is all about money." One of the final comments was: "We can't change people, but we can change ourselves. Our generation is the future."

When I asked them what they thought about the younger kid's knowledge of these issues, the conversation turned very resigned. Overall they felt younger kids won't care about the labor or social issues. They thought they would only care about style. Middle school kids would be an "easy sell" because they just want to "wear what's cool."

The second high school group was a group of eleventh graders. They were less savvy about the codes issues. They too immediately referenced Michael Jordan. One kid said, "just do it," in a mocking tone. When the discussion turned to sweatshops they were angry but resigned. "You feel bad, but who really cares." The overall tone was it doesn't make a difference because "they're (corporations) too powerful."

I showed them the Tiger Woods commercials. The discussion turned to how Nike just uses "who's ever popular." The socially conscious content, implicit in the commercials, seemed to have little relevance for them. They commented that Nike just picks people who are young and good at sports because they want kids to think "they can do good too."

In this group they clearly got Nike's advertising messages that every kid had a chance in sports - the "heart and soul" of Nike's marketing campaign. But, they seemed to feel there would not be any long term impact on Nike sales, in terms of labor rights abuses. They just shrugged it off as "sad - the way it is."

The eighth grade group was a very difficult group in terms of self-directed discussion. In this group half of the students were minority. It was most culturally diverse, with one African American, one Hispanic and two Hmong students.

Initially, they only acknowledged that "ya, we like their stuff." After much prodding I finally relented and asked if any of them knew about sweatshops. Two of the eight shook their heads affirmatively. But they were not willing to talk about it. After showing them the commercials, they began to talk a bit more. They spoke about racism and the unfairness of it all, but they did not link to the fairness issue in the commercials to the sweatshop issue.

What was very interesting is this group was the single African American boy brought up "Michael Jordan's own company," referring to Jordan's new line of clothing for Nike. When I told him that Nike made the clothes he just ignored it insisting that is was "his" (Jordan's) line. "No, it's just like his shoes." I again tried to explain the difference but he would have none of it. The clothing was, in his mind, synonymous with Michael Jordan. For him, disconnecting Jordan from clothing was difficult and in the process Nike melted into Jordan - the celebrity became the symbol.

I closed this group by asking if they thought the sweatshop issue would make any difference. "No" said one student, "because they're (corporations) just too big and we're just kids."

The final group was a very talkative group of sixth graders. These kids also started by identifying Jordan. Additionally, they rattled off sport after sport that Nike sponsored clearly defining Nike's marketing presence. They were very knowledgeable about Nike and it's role in the sports world. I observed that they might be a nearly perfect example of Nike's quote in its annual report: "The future of sports lives in the hearts and souls of young athletes" (Nike, 1997).

They thought of Nike as "awesome and cool." They thought of Nike products as "good, quality and comfortable." Overall, they were very enthusiastic about Nike products.

Then a boy commented that "my day doesn't want me to get them (Nike shoes) because they have kids making them." The kids took off with this. Many of them were aware of a *60 Minutes* segment on sweatshops. They talked about how kids made soccer balls and they felt "bad from them" (referring to the FIFA codes for the production of soccer balls) The kids who did have knowledge of sweatshop conditions were very detailed and emotional in their discussions of them. Nevertheless, not all kids were aware of Nike's manufacturing practices. One girl said after some sweatshop discussion: "I don't know about Nike and don't know if I really want to."

The conversation again switched back to Jordan: "He really makes those kids do that?" There was a tone of not wanting to tarnish Jordan's image. In this group they associated Jordan very tightly with Nike, as did the eighth grade student. The students thought, "maybe he could get them to clean up their act." They discussed how they thought Jordan should "pay the kids who make the shoes, because he makes a lot of money." These students were very aware of Jordan's connection to Nike. As a group it was only the discussion that appeared to help them make a conscious connection between sweatshops and Nike.

In the end one girl said "I used to really like Nike, but now that I know this stuff I don't think they're a very honest company." Overall, this was the consensus of this group. Initially, they were highly enthusiastic about Nike, its products and the celebrities who endorse them. But they quickly turned against Nike once they realized that there were children involved in their labor practices. The sixth grade kids appeared to make a very personal connection to the issue of child labor.

I believe that personal identification, as was so clearly indicated by the children in the last group, is the single most powerful tool in the battle over codes of conduct, beyond regulation and legislation. Yet, it seems to be only the MNCs who are exploiting children's identification with the brand. MNCs with all their marketing expertise have long known that young adolescent consumers have the potential for making powerful and long lasting associations with role models. Nike has used this to its advantage and will continue to do so.

These young consumers were acutely aware of Nike's products and its image--the brand. Further, the vast majority of younger children, ages eleven to thirteen, either did not know about the sweatshops or had not connected them directly to Nike. At the other end of the age range, the fifteen to seventeen year old students knew a lot about the labor rights issues connected with Nike, but felt powerless to do anything about it. Significantly, once the younger children made the connection they were incredibly energized. As a group they were still optimistic over all. This is very significant information because if this pattern would continue to emerge in other focus group it would indicate a substantial window of opportunity for human rights activists and labor organizations to rally a very significant and productive consumer block.

The eleven to thirteen year old adolescents, often the targets for marketers, are still open—still malleable. It would appear that when armed with a broader range of knowledge and put into an environment which promotes open dialogue and critical thinks skills these young consumers could potentially become socially conscious consumers, hence creating a powerful block for social action by eliciting changes in consumption patterns.

Yet, these consumers appear only to be targeted by the corporate marketers. The power they represent, because of their huge purchasing power as a block, is immense. However, they are all but ignored by activists. Will ignoring the potential of young consumers continue on the part of activists? Or will youth be tapped as a group with potential for socially conscious consumer activism? The track record of activists appears not to support the latter as a probability.

What is problematic, I would argue, is that the human rights activists and labor groups who are so vigorously fighting for codes of conduct seem only marginally aware of the power of youthful consumers--those consumers not yet brand loyal. They appear to believe that legislation and regulation will provide the ultimate solution. While it is certainly true that legislation and regulation may go a long way to solving part of the problem; if consumers do not perceive manufacturing practices as crucial factors in their purchasing decisions the success of any codes of conduct are dramatically weakened.

CONCLUSION

While the Apparel Industry Partnership is a huge step toward public acknowledgment of labor rights issues and an equally important step toward regulating a solution; it is meaningless without industry-wide compliance. I would argue that the apparent lack of consumer knowledge and dialogue on this issue, leaves little hope for industry-wide compliance because there will be no need for compliance if the corporation's target audiences remain unaware or unmotivated by the issue of sweatshops and other labor rights abuses.

The issue of economic control is of course multi-faceted, but neo-liberal capitalists tend to hold fast to profitability as the main issue of relevance. Yet, along with profitability the "whole concept of community evolves by developing the, 'healthy nucleus,' that exists in 'common sense,' the part of it which can be called 'good sense' " (Augelli, p. 27). It seems that activists have failed to embrace or had the 'good sense' to use the potential rooted in young consumers in the same tactical manner that neo-liberals have long understood and exploited.

Activists and labor appear willing to fight the battle on neo-liberal turf. The problem with this is that the ground rules then become those of the neo-liberals, where profit is paramount. In the moment that activists take themselves out of the broader terrain of community, even a fragmented community, they have lost the battle.

I would argue that it is prudent, if not essential, to understand the neo-liberal mind and to play by their rules as necessary to gain access to regulation. But, it is a dangerously slippery slope upon which activists embark if they turn their backs on the silent voices of youthful consumers. Consumers as both the finite point of sales--the cash nexus of corporations, and the "heart and soul" (to quote Nike) of community are the cornerstone to their success.

Neo-liberal MNCs, in part because of the money they have on hand, are more easily able to play both ends of the spectrum in an effort to enhance both their power and wealth. It appears activist are afraid to push either end. Instead them seem trapped, inert, unable to tap into the extensive resources they have in consumers and community. As Alan Howard, assistant to the president of UNITE stated:

> "Sweatshop workers ultimately rely on the power of consumers and citizen pressure to give them a fighting chance. None of this campaigning against sweatshops goes anywhere without a movement out there of public awareness, concern and activity that brought these corporation to the table in the first place" (Moberg, p.19).

Ultimately, the only reason corporations will stay at "the table" is because consumer pressure implicitly implies a potential loss of market share. That, through the narrow gaze of the neo-liberal lens, is the only thing that will keep or attract companies to "the table."

Sustained consumer pressure must be predicated on educating and motivating consumers, especially those who have yet to firmly establish loyalties and strict brand preferences. By targeting specific audience, especially youthful audiences, activists have the possibilities of creating life-long socially conscious consumers. This, along with an Apparel Industry Partnership that contains serious compliance mechanisms, could open the possibility of expanding hegemony beyond the exclusive grasp of neo-liberals.

> A class that wants to achieve hegemony today must take into account all these requirements (economic, cultural and social) - developing a critical self-understanding, making alliances, and capturing the ideological realm... if it intends to extend its hegemony to the mass public (Augelli, p. 124).

If human rights activists and labor organizations, those fighting for enforceable codes of conduct, wish to win this battle I suggest they unlock and educate the silent voices of young consumers.

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Using Sentence Importance Ratings for Investigating Effectiveness of Advertising Copy Blocks: A Preliminary Test

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Abstract

This paper presents a conceptual justification for the use of Sentence Importance Ratings (Kieras, 1985) as a potential copytesting tool for analyzing reader reactions to specific areas of advertising copy blocks. Models of text comprehension are examined and an initial test using sentence importance ratings to determine the importance of technical language and explanatory context to readers of print ads for high tech products is reported.

The purpose of this paper is to report an initial test of a possible new advertising copytesting tool that adopts a reader-driven technique developed in psycholinguistic research which has previously been used to measure readers' understandings of the propositional structures of written texts.

Historically, advertising copywriters have espoused the virtues of simplicity in advertising copy, arguing that simple text is easier to comprehend and therefore more likely to persuade its intended audience (Abruzzini, 1967). Such principles remain commonly accepted. Advertising textbook writers still caution students that advertising "copy should be as easy to understand as possible" and to use "short, familiar words and short sentences" (Wells, Burnett & Moriarty, 1995, p. 447). And professionally, copy-testing methods such as the Cloze procedure, Starch scores, and the Fog reading index have been used for decades to gauge the readability of advertising texts, with easier texts resulting in "better" scores.

Some of these copy-testing methods were originally developed in linguistic and educational psychology research (e.g., The Dale-Chall formula, the Fog Index) for evaluating the level of reading skills needed to understand school texts. Not surprisingly, psycholinguistic research has generally shown that simpler, less complex text passages are better comprehended and more easily recalled than difficult text passages (e.g., Kintsch, Kozminsky, Streby, McKoon, & Keenan, 1975).

In the study reported here, advertising copy blocks for technical products will be used as exemplar texts, for the purpose of examining reader reactions to unfamiliar words in ad copy. Consumers' processing of technical information in advertising is a complex process. This process, the author argues, is affected not only by the use of technical language, but also by factors such as the way in which the text is constructed surrounding technical language, and the varying levels of knowledge that consumers bring with them to the discourse environment. The assumption of this study is that, if advertising copy can be written in ways that make the meanings of technical features more clear and relevant (i.e., if the context helps explain the technical language), it can be a more effective source of information during the purchase-decision process, regardless of the consumer's preexisting level of knowledge. Further, if this assumption is correct, advertising researchers should be able to (with the help of ad readers) identify specific areas of ad copy texts that readers find most helpful, and, perhaps more importantly, identify ineffective passages in advertising copy.

Copy testing:

The goal of copy-testing research is to compare the effectiveness of an ad relative to alternative ads or to pre-established criteria for predicting how successful the ad will be prior to placement in media. "One thing that most copy-research professionals agree upon is that copy testing works--that it does relate to sales" (Haley & Baldinger, p. 27). Although copy-testing research is often concerned with evaluating an ad as a whole, headline and copy block variations in different versions of individual ads are often tested as well.

Typically, advertising copywriters are directed to keep their copy simple enough so that it is understandable to all readers or viewers. This approach of appealing to the "lowest common denominator" for reaching audiences has been found in the past to result in an average readability of magazine ads of less than a tenth grade reading level (Shuptrine & McVicker, 1981). No recent data were available to determine whether this level is still the norm, but copywriting texts continue to tout the virtues of simple copy (e.g., Jewler, 1995).

Yet some contradictory data have emerged to indicate that, at least in some situations, simple copy does not always yield the best results. Anderson and Jolson (1980) manipulated the level of technical language in camera advertisements and in general found that nontechnical ads produced more favorable evaluations from participants low in product knowledge, and technical ads produced more favorable evaluations from participants high in product knowledge. In another study, Macklin, Bruvold and Shea (1985) found no differences in recall, attitudinal judgments or purchase intent for three different readability versions of a print ad. Results from both these studies should be interpreted with caution, however, because only one stimulus item was used in each case.

More recently, Chamblee, et al., (1993) found that "type-token ratio" scores (a text difficulty measure that takes into account the uniqueness of words within a text) were significantly correlated with Starch readership scores (a field-testing measure of the percentage of people who actually read an ad in a particular magazine) in a study looking at ad readership in ***Time*** magazine and ***Reader's Digest***. It seems clear then, that advertising copy-testing procedures which investigate how advertisements are processed and determine which specific points are important to different consumers in addition to gathering attitudinal and behavioral outcomes are needed if investigators are interested in isolating and ultimately explaining these kinds of interactions between consumers and the language contained in the advertisements they read.

Another model detailing how advertising copy and consumers interact is the Ad Language Model (ALM), developed by Thorson and Snyder (1984). The ALM is conceptually derived from the propositional model of discourse analysis developed by Kintsch and van Dijk (1978). In the ALM, macropropositions, which are assumed to operate under commercial schemas, include product-characteristic macropropositions (PC MA) and executional macropropositions (EX MA). These terms roughly correspond to the more familiar advertising copy terminology of product features and benefits. Inability to understand complex PC MAs (or to understand them at only a superficial level) may lead to failure on the part of the novice reader to connect them to or understand their relationship to EX MA's. Although not specifically stated in this model, it would appear that one of the goals for copywriters working on ads for products with complex PC MAs would be to explain clearly these product attributes so that readers could understand how they link with EX MA's.

Given the variety of approaches investigators have used to examine the role of language in advertising, there clearly exists a strong belief that the "often subtle cues in language can have significant impact upon how advertising will be processed" (Percy, 1988, p. 273). Across these different approaches, however, much of the interest has been focused on the most salient parts of advertising--headlines, brand names, and themelines. As Motes et al., (1992, p. 64) point out, though, "while psycholinguistic studies have concentrated substantially on ad headlines, too little attention has been directed to ad text."

Sentence importance ratings

Sentence importance ratings (Kieras, 1985): Dual-route persuasion models such as the Elaboration Likelihood Model (Petty & Cacioppo, 1986) and the Heuristic-Systematic Model (Chaiken, 1980) propose that interactions of source, message and receiver variables differentially affect attitudes. Message manipulations in this research area, however, tend to be dichotomous (e.g., strong arguments/weak arguments; many arguments/few arguments). Seldom do researchers attempt to identify which specific parts of a text are deemed most important by readers. In this study (which was part of a broader experiment dealing with the interactive effects of consumer knowledge, technical language and explanatory context across a variety of common advertising dependent variables), during the final part of the experiment, participants were shown a list of sentences from each of the ad copy blocks they had previously read and were asked to rate (on a scale of one to ten) how important each sentence was to them in terms of forming their overall evaluation of the ad. Subsequently, the sentences for each ad were recoded into product feature sentences (i.e., all the sentences that contained the technical and context manipulations) and thematic sentences (beginning and ending sentences which carried the primary themes of the copy blocks).

Technical language:

Technical language can be conceptualized at two levels. One level would be to consider technical language as a specialized expository style (as in a technical report); the other level is a function of lexical specialization (i.e., the uniqueness of particular words as they relate to a technology) (Kieras, 1985). Lexical specialization is the level of technical language considered in this study, defined as words, acronyms or short phrases confined chiefly to a technology or a specialized field of endeavor.

Theories of text comprehension from psycholinguistic research can be applied to the concept of technical language. Although little research has been done using technical language as an expository style (Kieras, 1985), studies that manipulate the difficulty of comprehending particular words in texts are more common. One of the principle conclusions from this research is that attempts to understand novel or technical terms require additional processing from the reader (Just & Carpenter, 1980; Kintsch, Kozminsky, Streby, McKoon, & Keenan, 1975). Similarly, studies that have manipulated reading difficulty over an entire passage have also indicated that as the overall level of reading difficulty increases in a text, demands on cognitive processing capacity increase as well (Inhoff & Fleming, 1989).

Frequently, psycholinguistic studies of text comprehension attempt to assess how much mental effort is required to understand a text. However, most measures of cognitive processing that are frequently used (e.g., secondary task reaction times, reading times, gaze fixation times) are ambiguous in that they only provide an estimation of the *amount* of mental effort dedicated to a task.[1] The *type* of mental effort involved in text comprehension is difficult to gauge using these measures.

One text comprehension study that did examine differences in the type of mental effort was done by Raney (1993). Using Event Related Potentials (ERP's), which measure different types of neurological brain activity as an indication of the type of cognitive processing occurring at that time, Raney found that ERP's for brainwaves associated with lower-order reading processes such as word recognition were high when readers encountered a text for the first time. As familiarity with a text increased (e.g., on a second reading), cognitive load decreased for these types of processes according to the ERP measurements. But when ERPs were examined for higher-order processes such as comparing the text to one's previous memory representation, cognitive load actually increased during a second reading of a text (Raney, 1993). Findings such as these are consistent with theories of text comprehension (e.g., Kintsch & van Dijk, 1978; Kintsch, 1988), which posit that comprehension is based initially on a surface level understanding of the words and sentences strung together in a text followed by a deeper level understanding in which the semantic content is compared to and integrated with readers' existing knowledge structures already stored in memory.

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[1] More specifically, secondary reaction times measure the amount of time for attentional disengagement rather than the amount of attentional capacity devoted to a task (Allport, 1989).

One of the central issues in the psychology of reading involves delineating the processes of how written words are identified and understood (Pollatsek & Rayner, 1989; Rayner & Pollatsek, 1989). Findings from research on word recognition provide some useful corollaries in conceptualizing technical language. Theorizing in this area examines how orthographic, phonological, and morphological features of words are used to identify what is being communicated on the page. Models of word recognition and text comprehension typically begin with readers' identifications of orthographic features (i.e., shapes of letters) of letter strings, followed by a phonological representation of the written information, which is followed by searches of long-term memory for matches to the identified features. When the best match is found, recognition occurs and semantic connotations are retrieved (Kintsch, 1988; Van Orden, Johnston, & Hale, 1988).

One robust finding from this literature is that readers are better at identifying letters when they appear in words than when they appear in isolation ("word-superiority effect," Reicher, 1969). This phenomenon, which was originally reported in

1886 by Cattell (cited in Rayner & Pollatsek, 1989) has been used to claim that both top-down processes (e.g., knowledge of word frequencies, Venezky & Massaro, 1987) and bottom-up processes (e.g., identification of orthographic features of letter combinations, McLelland & Rumelhart, 1981) are both operative in word recognition.

On the other hand, a related but somewhat contradictory finding – the pseudoword-superiority effect – has been found in which letter identification is also better when letters appear in pseudowords (combinations of letters that conform to the orthographical and phonological constraints of a language but are not words, for example, "MARD") than when they appear in isolation (Baron & Thurston, 1973). The pseudoword-superiority effect argues against a simultaneous top-down process for word recognition (Pollatsek & Rayner, 1989) and incorporates the importance of phonological representations of words in reading (Van Orden, Johnston & Hale, 1988; Coltheart, Patterson & Leahy, 1994).

The seeming disparity between explanations for the word-superiority effect and the pseudoword-superiority effect may be due in part to experimental conditions, however. In experiments where participants were told to expect pseudowords, pseudowords were identified as equally well as real words. However, if participants were told to expect either real words or random strings of letters, letter recognition in pseudowords was reduced to approximately the same level of random strings (Carr, Davidson & Hawkins, 1978).

In applying these concepts to readers' encounters with technical language, a technical term that is unknown to the reader could be seen as being perceptually similar to the pseudowords used in letter identification studies. Further, technical communications often rely on the use of acronyms, which are frequently pronounceable and could be argued as being perceptually similar to pseudowords for readers who are unfamiliar with their meanings, and which may be particularly salient since they are usually printed in capital letters.

It should be noted, however, that the research paradigm from which these studies have come emphasizes the *recognition* of letters and words based on a series of brief exposures to a set of stimuli. Comprehension is usually not a variable of interest. Further, when real words are presented to participants under these conditions, the words themselves are usually ones which occur frequently in the language, contain few letters (usually four) and which contain one morpheme (Rayner & Pollatsek, 1989). Although some studies have examined complexity by varying the use of affixes (e.g., Taft & Forster, 1976), research using longer words with multiple root morphemes is rare (Rayner & Pollatsek, 1989). Further, the typical lexical decision tasks employed in these studies (i.e., deciding if a string of letters actually constitutes a word or not) are less useful when the stimulus of interest is an entire passage of text since readers do not normally expect to encounter non-words and nonsense strings of letters in real reading material. The evidence from the word-superiority and the psuedoword-superiority effects is important, however, in that it suggests the existence of parallel routes to word recognition, a direct visual route and an indirect phonological route (e.g., McClelland & Rumelhart, 1981; Paap, Newsome, McDonald & Schvaneveldt, 1982). These two routes appear to operate in tandem, enabling readers to build representations of words with relative facility, whether or not such words were previously familiar to them. As such, it would appear reasonable that readers would be able to process unfamiliar technical words at some level even if they are unable to understand what they mean.

Clearly, though, if technical language is defined as words or short phrases that are confined chiefly to some specialized field of endeavor, such as a science or a form of commerce, some variation in how familiar these words are to the general public is to be expected. As such, in assessing the level of technical language in a text (such as a block of advertising copy), two dimensions of technical language must be considered--the level of familiarity of the terms (i.e., a comprehensibility dimension), and the number of technical terms relative to nontechnical terms in a text (i.e., a frequency dimension).

Familiarity of words is frequently operationalized by using word frequency counts and prior research has confirmed that passages with unfamiliar words take longer to read (Graesser & Riha, 1984). Other studies have shown that processing time increases whenever readers encounter new nouns (Kintsch, et al., 1975).

The complexity or difficulty of the text as a whole, which is related to the number of concepts presented and the repetition of concepts, also plays a role in readers' abilities to recall textual information. Text recall experiments conducted by Kintsch et al. (1975) showed that:

> Reading times were longer and recall was less for texts with many different word concepts than for texts with fewer word concepts. Superordinate propositions were recalled better than subordinate propositions and forgotten less when recall was delayed. The probability that a word concept was recalled increased as a function of both the number of repetitions of that concept in the text base and the number of repetitions of the corresponding word in the actual text (p. 196).

Difficult texts have also been shown to require more cognitive processing capacity, as evidenced by longer secondary reaction times (Inhoff & Fleming, 1989). Vipond (1980) found that recall for both micropropositions (individual ideas in the text) and macropropositions (textual meaning derived at a broader or more global level) was lower for passages with a high level of lexical difficulty.

In advertising research, one previous study (Anderson & Jolson, 1980) dealt specifically with technical language. Anderson and Jolson manipulated the level of technical language in camera advertisements and found that a highly technical ad was positively associated with perceived price of the product, and with quality ratings of the product. Readers of the low-technical version of the ad felt the product was easier to use and more durable. Limitations of this study were that only one ad for one type of product was tested (a 35 mm. camera) and technical language was only manipulated as the number of technical terms. The comprehensibility (or familiarity) of the technical words was not controlled.

Context:

In psycholinguistic research, the term *context* is viewed more narrowly than it typically is in discussions of mass media content. In mass communications research, context is often conceived as a set of circumstances or facts that surround a particular event or issue and is considered a laudable journalistic goal (e.g., Neuman, Just and Crigler's (1992) content analysis showing magazine news coverage outranks newspapers and television news in providing citizens with contextual information on public policy issues). In advertising research, context is typically considered in terms of the other media content (e.g., news stories, entertainment programs, other advertisements) that surround a target ad (e.g., Feltham & Arnold, 1994; Schumann & Thorson, 1990) In psycholinguistic research, context is still concerned with the effect of surrounding content on a target stimulus, albeit at a more microlevel unit of analysis, usually a word. In this line of research, context is defined as the parts of a discourse that surround a word or passage and shed light on its meaning by providing the reader with an external comparison or that primes closely related words in memory (Becker, 1985). The latter definition of context is the one adopted in this study.

Integrated models of text comprehension incorporate the effects of context and its interactions with microlevel processes of word identification. Context is conceptualized as functioning at both the textual level (e.g. context within a phrase or a sentence) and at the individual level (i.e., context as a function of knowledge) (Potter, Moryadas, Abrams & Noel, 1993). Within a sentence, other words in proximity to a target word are thought to prime representations of the target word in memory, producing a lexical priming effect (Potter, et al., 1993; Simpson, Peterson, Casteel & Burgess, 1989). At the individual level, prior knowledge acts as a contextual cue which constricts the parameters of a memory search through the activation of specific schema related to the topic being discussed in the text (Kintsch, 1988).

Sentence-level context typically facilitates the recognition of target words, although some debate exists as to whether context functions as an unconscious prime for target words or activates higher level processes that estimate the predictability of a set of possible target words relative to the priming words (Pollatsek & Rayner, 1989). Whichever the case, the presence of context in a sentence usually results in a decrease in fixation time on a target word, which indicates that the reader has figured out the word and has proceeded on to the next part of the text. It should be noted, however, that word recognition studies usually use common words rather than infrequently-occurring technical terms. Within this paradigm, then, comprehension of words and building a semantic representation of a text are not the issues of primary interest. Implicitly, this research suggests that context--by facilitating word recognition--would also enhance comprehension, but broader approaches to text comprehension are important to consider as well.

Kintsch and van Dijk (1978) have presented a model of text comprehension in which meaning is associated with two levels of a text--the microstructure and the macrostructure. The microstructure of a text consists of the micropropositions[2] and their relationships to each other. Macropropositions correspond with the meaning inferred by the reader from the micropropositions in the text (although they can be explicitly stated in the text) and are primarily schematically based according to the reader's biases and expectations. At the macrostructural level, the macropropositions are considered in order to form an overall impression of the meaning, or "gist," of the text. Within this model, the processing of lexical and macrostructural information are viewed as simultaneous, yet independent processes (Kintsch & van Dijk 1978; Kintsch & Vipond 1979).

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[2] Micropropositions are combinations "of word concepts, one of which serves as a predicator, and the remaining ones as arguments, each fulfilling a unique semantic role" (Kintsch, W., Kozminsky, E., Streby, W. J., McKoon, G. & Keenan, J. M. 1975, p. 196). Predicators specify relationships, such as verbs and modifiers, among arguments, such as nouns.

Comprehension, according to this model, is affected by processes at both the micro- and macrolevels (Vipond 1980). In macroprocessing, the reader's schemas guide the comprehension. In microprocessing, "the reader comprehends a passage by forming, piece by piece, a network representation of it" (Vipond 1980 p. 278). And although both processes may operate in tandem when reading, the amount of existing knowledge the reader already has about a subject can affect which process is predominant. In experiments designed to test comprehension of skilled and unskilled readers, Vipond (1980) concluded that in technical prose passages, "microvariables were better predictors of less skilled readers' performance, whereas macrovariables were better for skilled readers" (p. 276).

In the experiment cited above, however, the amount of information readers already knew about a subject was not a variable. Yet an existing knowledge base that can be applied to the understanding of new information appears to be one of the key dimensions of expertise. The lack of such a knowledge base, then, presents a barrier to comprehension of new information for novices. Haviland and Clark (1974) explain that "the listener, in comprehending a sentence, first searches memory for antecedent information that matches the sentence's Given information; he then revises memory by attaching the New information to that antecedent" (p. 512). In Haviland and Clark's Given-New conceptualization, the ability to recall new information is dependent on the presence of related information (or schema) in long-term memory to which the new information can be attached. If such a structure does not already exist in the reader's or listener's memory, Haviland and Clark believe the new information will either be lost or a new structure must be developed:

> Given information must have an antecedent in memory. If there is no Antecedent, the listener must construct one by elaborating information he already has, or he must construct one from scratch. It is only when the

> listener finds (or constructs) the Antecedent in memory that he can attach the New information to it, thereby integrating the New information with what he already knows (p. 513).

The process of constructing new memory structures "on the spot" to accommodate new information appears to be fraught with difficulties, however. One way in which this difficulty has been demonstrated was in a text recall experiment conducted by Bransford and Johnson (1973). In this experiment, some participants were shown a paragraph of text describing in general terms the procedure for doing a task. They were not told what the task was. In essence, the readers were not given any context that they could use to match the textual information with an existing schema. A second group of participants read the same paragraph but in this case they were given the context (washing clothes) prior to reading the paragraph. Recall scores for the second group were much higher than those of the first group.

Because existing schemas enhance the reader's ability to retain relevant new information and discard irrelevant information, readers who are essentially in the process of constructing new schemas to handle new information may lack the filtering capability to distinguish between relevant and irrelevant information. Inefficient encoding of information can then result in retrieval difficulties, as Kintsch and Vipond (1979) maintain:

> Another way in which knowledge would be beneficial--in fact crucial--in comprehension is in the inference processes that are required whenever an incoherent text base is constructed. We have suggested that these inferences constitute a major source of reading difficulty. For high-knowledge readers this difficulty should be greatly reduced, whereas for readers without the necessary knowledge it would be insurmountable and lead to the formation of disjointed, impossible-to-retrieve text bases (p. 355).

To the extent that sentence-level context can enhance readers' abilities to infer meanings of unfamiliar words then, the inclusion of context in advertising copy for technical products may have an equalizing effect for readers with low consumer knowledge. It is also argued that presence of context will increase the informativeness of the ads, thereby resulting in more favorable evaluations of the advertising.

It seems also warranted to relate the evidence presented above regarding the primary role of context in word recognition and the construction of meaning with the evidence previously cited from research using event-related potentials to infer the type of mental processing involved in re-reading a passage. Preliminary evidence presented by Raney (1993) suggests that brain waves related to higher order thought process (such as integrating textual information with an existing knowledge base) are typically higher during a second reading of a text. Context should also help at this stage of the comprehension process. The hypothesis offered for this study is then:

> When sentences from ads are read a second time, individual sentences that contain context will be rated as more important than their corresponding ambiguous sentences in context-absent ads.

Method

To test the hypothesis, a repeated measures experiment was used. Technical language was a within-subjects factor and had two levels (technical v. nontechnical). Sentence-level context was also a within subjects factor and also had two levels (context v. ambiguous descriptions. To add generalizability to technical products as a whole, four different product types were used in the stimulus ads. Ads were created using all four combinations of technical language manipulation and the sentence-level context manipulation in each of the four product types, resulting in 16 total ads. Each participant read one ad for each product type, each containing a different experimental treatment (technical/context; technical/ambiguous; nontechnical/context; nontechnical/ambiguous).

Procedure:

A sample of 80 adult consumers was obtained with the cooperation of a parents education organization in a mid-sized midwestern city. Participants were not paid individually; rather, a lump sum contribution was made directly to the parenting organization as an acknowledgment of their participation and assistance.

Data for the pretest questionnaires were gathered during late July and early August, 1997. Following completion of the pretest, an appointment was set to conduct the experiment approximately a month later. Questionnaires were administered in participants' homes. Participants were instructed that they would be reading some ads for different products and then answering questions about them. To encourage participants to read the ads carefully, they were asked to pretend as if they were thinking about purchasing the kinds of products that would be featured in the ads. The four products (using fictitious brand names) were a camcorder, a compact disc player, an ink jet printer, and a VCR. Participants were randomly assigned to sixteen counterbalanced orders. The questionnaire consisted of four repeated measures of ads (two technical and two nontechnical) and questions, in which participants would read an ad and then complete a series of questions before proceeding to the next ad.

After all the ads had been read once and a brief distraction task had been completed, the sentence importance rating measures were taken. This involved having the participants rate (on a scale of one to ten) how important each individual sentence was in terms of forming their overall evaluation of the ad. The order of presentation for sentences was determined by random draw, not by their position in the original copy block (see Appendix for example). The average completion time for the experiment was one hour. Participants were then debriefed, and thanked.

Preparation of stimulus items:

With a within-subjects design such as this one, the preparation of stimulus items required considerable care. It was important to make each ad look different enough from the others so that they did not appear to be too similar. This might have caused the participants to pay undue attention to the designs and look for slight differences among the ads. On the other hand, it was important the designs of the ads not be so obtrusive that they might interfere with participants' ability to devote their attention to the copy blocks of the ads. It was decided to use similar design approaches but with some variations in layout. The similarities in the designs were that a single, dominant illustration of the product was included in each ad. Because the available illustrations were not all the same size, the amount of space each illustration took up was made roughly equal by integrating background screens and borders with the smaller illustrations. Other similarities included the layout and typography of the copy blocks themselves, which were set in two columns of ten point Helvetica with liberal leading between lines (sans serif styles in small point sizes with liberal leading are currently a popular format for magazine copy blocks). In each case, the brand names were included at the bottom of the ads (either in the center or at the right) and were graphically integrated with the rest of the design. To make the illustrations appear more real, the fictitious brand name for the product was overlaid onto each illustration. This also served the purpose of covering up the real brand name for the product in the illustration. The length of copy blocks and the number of sentences in each copy block were controlled as well.

Hypothesis test

The research hypothesis predicted that participants would rate sentences containing context as being more important than sentences containing ambiguous descriptions of product features. To test this hypothesis, the analysis dealt with the scores on individual sentences that participants rated in terms of how important they were for developing an overall evaluation of the ads. The sentences were rated on a scale from one to ten. Individual sentences for each of the four versions of the four ads were coded by the author as being either product feature sentences (these were the sentences that contained both the technical/nontechnical and the context/ambiguous manipulations), or thematic sentences (which contained no product feature information and were the same in all four versions of a product ad). To analyze whether context was operating solely at a global level (i.e., affecting attitudes toward an entire ad), or if this variable was in fact operating at the sentence level, it was necessary to look at both types of sentences. In other words, if context was indeed influencing attitudes at the sentence level, the effects of context should be observable only in the product feature sentences, but not in the thematic sentences. Conversely, if context *was* operating purely at a global level, then it would be likely that thematic sentences appearing in context ads would be rated higher than the same sentences appearing in ambiguous ads. Therefore, two tests were run, one comparing the ratings for product feature sentences in context and ambiguous ads and the other dealing with the constant thematic sentences in context and ambiguous ads.

For the first test, in which ratings for product feature sentences were compared, participants rated product feature sentences in context ads as being significantly more important (mean = 6.0, s.d. = 1.5) than product feature sentences in ads with ambiguous descriptions of product features (mean = 5.3, s.d. = 1.6, $F_{(1, 76)} = 14.7$, $p < .001$).

For the second test, in which ratings for the thematic sentences in context and ambiguous ads were compared to see if context exhibited a global "carryover" effect to other sentences, participants rated thematic sentences in context ads identically (mean = 3.8, s.d. = 1.9) to thematic sentences in ambiguous ads (mean = 3.8, s.d. = 1.9, $F_{(1, 76)} = 0.0$, $p = .90$). Additionally, both types of sentences were rated as being more important than thematic sentences in the sentence importance rating tasks. If the ambiguous sentences were producing negative reactions, then it would be likely that thematic sentences would rate higher in ambiguous ads. As it was, thematic sentences were rated the same regardless of whether they appeared in context or ambiguous ads.

Either way, implications for copywriters are apparent: product features are more effectively communicated when they are explained.

Discussion

Although this study provides only a preliminary test, the use of sentence importance ratings is new to advertising research. Originally developed as an extension of the Kintsch and van Dijk models of text comprehension, sentence importance ratings have been used successfully in psycholinguistic research to assess readers' abilities to comprehend textual propositions at the micro level. In this study, participants not only rated which sentences they felt were most important in each of the ads they read, they also rated context sentences as being significantly more important than ambiguous sentences. For a genre of writing such as advertising that depends heavily on writing that is both clear and persuasive, the use of sentence importance ratings as a copytesting tool may hold considerable promise.

Next, future research should be aimed specifically at evaluating sentence importance ratings as a copytesting tool. A series of experiments may be called for here. One experiment could have participants rate different versions of the same ad. Another could have participants rate a number of ads from various product categories using different executional styles. In still another, the ad copy manipulations could be contained within a single copy block to determine how adept consumers are at making relative judgments in ad copy.

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Appendix: Sample Sentence Importance Ratings Instrument

Below, you will find, in random order, the sentences that appeared in the CD player ad you read a few minutes ago. Please rate each sentence in terms of how important it was to you in forming your overall evaluation of the ad. *(For each sentence, circle the number that best represents how important that sentence was.)*

And when matched with other digital components, the QX-2200 sends out digital signals to give you superior performance.

not at all important					somewhat important					extremely important
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

For tracking that's quick and accurate, you can't beat our straight moving drive mechanism.

not at all important					somewhat important					extremely important
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

And the smoother, more natural high frequency tones you hear could only come from a filter that re-checks the signal.

not at all important					somewhat important					extremely important
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

It has advanced features like a sturdy non-magnetic case for smooth operation, even near other components.

not at all important					somewhat important					extremely important
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

You'll hear the difference quality engineering makes with the new Evsonic QX-2200 CD player.

not at all important					somewhat important					extremely important
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

The QX-2200 has sound so pure it comes with a distortion level of .0025% and a noise level of 110dB.

not at all important					somewhat important					extremely important
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Which (of course) silently finds the right track because it doesn't overlap other songs.

not at all important					somewhat important					extremely important
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

For the sound quality you demand, the special decoding mechanism transforms the digital signal from the disc to authentically reproduce the original sound.

not at all important					somewhat important					extremely important
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

The Evsonic QX-2200 – your ears will love what they see.

not at all important					somewhat important					extremely important
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

And for convenience, if you're tape recording your CDs, it helps you set the right sound levels.

not at all important					somewhat important					extremely important
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Or if you just want to kick back and listen, you can let the CD player surprise you with different selections.

not at all important					somewhat important					extremely important
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Adver-Thai-sing Standardization:

Can a U.S. Study of Sex Role Portrayals Transcend Cultural Boundaries?

Submitted for:

AEJMC Annual Conference, 1998
Advertising Divison

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Adver-Thai-sing Standardization:

Can a U.S. Study of Sex Role Portrayals Transcend Cultural Boundaries?

Advertising scholars have generally followed social trends in examining the influence of advertising on society and also the effectiveness of advertising aimed at specific audiences. One area of research has looked at the content of advertising to see if social roles present in society are articulated through advertising, and whether these depictions influence the effectiveness of the advertising. Within this area, the study of the portrayal of women's roles in advertisements has, in particular, garnered the attention of researchers (e.g, Ford et al 1994; Busby and Leichty, 1993; Ford & LaTour, 1993; Craig, 1992; Signorielli, 1985; Durkin, 1985; Rickel & Grant, 1979). However, as noted by Ford et al (1994), few studies of women's portrayals in advertising have extended into cross-cultural settings. In particular, these authors questioned the extent to which Western female role portrayals might be standardized to Pacific Rim nations.

While Ford et al (1994) raise intriguing questions about the cross cultural standardization of role portrayals in advertising, a related but even more compelling issue is how well Western models of consumer behavior and data collection methods apply in Eastern cultures (Graham, Kamins & Oetomo, 1995; Frith & Frith, 1990). To what extent can Western (primarily American-based) studies be replicated and used as a basis of comparison in Pacific Rim nations? Examinations of role portrayals of women in advertising is a topic that lends itself well to this type of methodological question.

This paper reports a study which begins to address this research need. Specifically, we report the results of a study conducted among women in a Pacific Rim nation (Thailand) which investigated the influence of three female role portrayals (traditional, superwoman and egalitarian) and women's gender ideology on advertising effectiveness. Few studies beyond those conducted in the U.S. have examined how different female role portrayals in advertisements influence advertising effectiveness.

The study was conducted in Thailand. Thailand is well suited for examining whether Western ways of conducting research are appropriate for Pacific Rim cultures in that it exhibits elements of Western and Eastern cultures. For example, Thailand is a nation whose culture somewhat approximates the U.S. in that "considerable variation of individual behavior is sanctioned" (Suphap, 1993, p. 30). Yet Thailand also embodies the philosophies and traditions of Eastern cultures which differ from Western cultures in a number of salient ways relative to advertising (Frith & Frith, 1990).

Two main questions guide the research: (1) Are research methods and assumptions about consumer behavior that are widely accepted in the U.S. appropriate for other cultures?; and, (2) If a study yields certain findings in the U.S., are these findings transferable to a Pacific Rim nation?

Sex role portrayals in advertising was chosen as the topic of the study which the researchers would attempt to replicate in another culture. Specifically, a study by Jaffe and Berger (1994) on the effectiveness of female role portrayals was selected to serve as a foundation for developing the present study.

Background

Sex Role Portrayals in Advertising

A voluminous body of work attests to the interest in role portrayals of women in advertising among U.S. researchers (see, for example, Courtney & Whipple, 1983; Venkatesan & Losco, 1975; Friedan, 1963, Busby & Leichty, 1993; Mays & Brady, 1990; Belkaoui & Belkaoui, 1976; Bretl & Cantor, 1988; Schneider & Schneider 1979; Sexton & Haberman, 1974). For decades, advertising has been the subject of criticism for not keeping pace with the changing role of women and researchers have examined the content of advertisements to see if how women are portrayed has kept pace with their changing role in society.

To assuage critics and find more effective ways to reach females, advertisers have modified the portrayals of women in advertisements to more accurately portray the modern female. A recent way in which advertisers have tried to accommodate women's changing roles is by using a "superwoman" image which portrays women as wearing three hats at once: worker, mother and wife (Jaffe & Berger, 1994). This approach has also been criticized by those who feel that women may experience inadequacy if they can not live up to the expectations conveyed in this type of advertisement. Subsequently, American advertisers are rethinking their superwoman approach and opting instead for a more "egalitarian" approach. Egalitarian images articulate a more democratic division of labor between husband and wife (Jaffe & Berger, 1994). A typical execution of this sort might show husbands helping their wives with household chores, implying a division of labor more reflective of the life of modern women.

The Jaffe and Berger Study. Jaffe and Berger (1994) used an experimental approach to examine the effects of using the "egalitarian" compared to the traditional and superwoman female portrayals in advertisements among 140 married U.S. women aged 21 to 50. Four hypotheses were tested. The first was based on previous studies which indicated that a modern, egalitarian female role portrayal is more effective than traditional or superwoman portrayals. The second, based on economic resource theory[1], predicted a positive interaction between income and female role portrayal (e.g., women with higher incomes would respond more favorably to egalitarian role portrayals to a greater degree than low income women). Hypothesis three dealt with the role that gender ideology plays in the attitude of women toward role portrayals in advertising; Jaffe and Berger predicted that women with more contemporary gender ideologies would respond more favorably to egalitarian advertisements. The final hypothesis reflected the authors' beliefs that "demographic variables, particularly presence of children, potentially interact with female role portrayals" (p. 35) such that childless women would be more favorable to egalitarian portrayals.

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[1] Economic resource theory contends that men do little housework in the family because of their greater paid work contribution to the household (Jaffe & Berger, 1994, p. 34). However, once a wife obtains a comparable level of employment the division of household chores becomes more equal. Hypothesis two was derived in anticipation that a woman's income influences her response to different role portrayals in advertisements.

Subjects responded to six food product advertisements prepared specifically for the experiment. Images used in the ads were drawn from existing advertisements; headlines and body copy were developed to represent the three sex role categories (traditional, egalitarian and superwoman). Subjects were asked to indicate each ad's effectiveness in terms of two dependent variables: (1) their feelings toward the ad (affect); and, (2) their purchase interest. The independent variables were the three role portrayals shown in the six ads (two ads for each portrayal). Jaffe and Berger used a five item scale derived from existing research to assess the subjects' gender ideology.

As predicted in Hypotheses one, they found that the most favorable and effective modern role portrayal was the egalitarian image, which was favored over the superwoman or traditional positionings. Further, both of the modern positionings were significantly favored over the traditional positioning. Support for Hypothesis two, which examined economic resource theory, was obtained via the finding that higher income women differentiated more sharply in their ad-related measures between the modern and traditional positionings than did women with lower incomes. Further analysis indicated that "Women with a more contemporary gender ideology favored the egalitarian positioning over the superwoman positioning to a greater extent than more women with more traditional gender ideologies" (p. 39), thus supporting the third hypothesis. The finding that childless women exhibited a higher advertising effectiveness score than mothers for the egalitarian positioning versus the other two supported Hypothesis four. Based on the support offered for their hypotheses, Jaffe and Berger concluded that advertisers can respond to cultural shifts by creating ads that keep pace with changes in American society. Further, egalitarian positionings are favored over superwoman and traditional positionings.

Standardization of Sex Role Portrayals

While most cultures have been found to share major similarities in sex-role stereotyping, some have been shown to have dramatic differences. Traditionally, Western societies have encouraged boys to be assertive, competitive, and independent (instrumental role) and girls to be supportive, cooperative, and sensitive (expressive role) (Barry, Bacon & Child, 1957). Despite increases of women attending higher education, joining the workforce and the rise of feminism in Eastern cultures, many of these sex role stereotypes remain (Eysenck, 1996).

Frith and Frith (1990) noted that "the fulfillment of family, group and community needs is more highly esteemed than the gratification of individual consumption goals (p. 66)" in the Southeast Asian culture. The authors also outlined additional differences in Eastern versus Western communication values including the use of euphemisms and indirectness, a sense of belonging to a group, respect for authority, collaboration, fatalism and intuition. They surmised that these Eastern ideals conflict with what are viewed as the American core values of directness, individualism, emphasis on one's peer group, hierarchical decision-making, determinism and logical problem-solving.

Ford et al (1994) compared American, Thai and New Zealand women's perceptions of sex role portrayals in advertising. They predicted that American women would be "more egalitarian, and therefore more critical, with respect to perceptions of sex role portrayals than Thai women due to the greater maturation of the women's movement and women's issues in American society (p.4)." They also predicted that New Zealand women would be more critical of sex role portrayal in advertising than American women. The authors conducted a mall-intercept survey of 100 women from each nationality. The study assessed perceptions of sex role portrayal using twelve Likert-type statements. As predicted, they found that New Zealand women were most critical of sex role portrayal in advertising, followed by American women and, finally, Thai women. New Zealand women differed significantly from Thai women for all twelve statements. However, there were mixed results when comparing American women to Thai women. For the statements "Ads suggest that women are fundamentally dependent upon men," "Ads suggest that women don't do important things," "Ads suggest that women make important decisions," and "I'm more sensitive to the portrayal of women in advertising than I used to be," there were no significant differences between the American and Thai respondents. However, Thai women agreed more than their American counterparts to the following statements: "Ads which I see show women as they really are,""Ads which I see show men as they really are," "Ads which I see accurately portray women in most of their daily activities," and "Overall, I believe that the portrayal of women in advertising is changing for the better." Conversely, Thai women disagreed more than their American counterparts to the following statements: "Ads treat women mainly as 'sex objects,'" "Ads suggest that a woman's place is in the home," "I find the portrayal of women in advertising to be offensive."

Thus, while research conducted in the U.S. suggests that egalitarian portrayals are the most effective advertising execution (Jaffe & Berger, 1994), beliefs in other countries may or may not support the egalitarian role of men and women. Adopting findings from studies conducted in the U.S. to other countries, particularly those whose culture is not "Western," may not be practical because cultural differences play important roles in identifying the sex-appropriate attitudes and behaviors of women in society (Eysenck, 1996; Weiten, 1986; Jones, Hendrick & Epstein, 1979; Mischel, 1970).

U.S. and International Asian Markets

Asian-Americans. The Asian market in the U.S. is the fastest growing minority and boasts above average spending power (Taylor & Lee, 1994). Over seven million Asian Americans reside in the U.S., and this rapidly growing minority is expected to comprise 6% of the U.S. population by 2010 (Miller, 1993). Of the current U.S. Asian population, 70% have immigrated since 1970 (Dunn, 1992 in Tayor & Lee, 1994), suggesting that they may still have a strong attachment to the cultural mores of their homeland. In order to effectively market to this important minority, many of whom are new immigrants, marketers need to understand the social rules and customs of the target market's homeland.

The Asian minority in the U.S. has only recently emerged as a focus of research for advertising scholars. Studies of the Asian consumer market in the U.S. have typically been content analyses which investigated U.S. advertising to see if Asians are represented in ads and, if so, what the nature of the representation is (e.g. Taylor & Stern, 1997; Taylor & Lee, 1994). However, the operationalization of Asian (Americans) within American advertising does not distinguish national origin (such as Korea, Japan, China, or Thailand). Thus, content analyses of minorities in U.S. advertisements have limited applicability for marketers of products advertised in the U.S. and foreign countries because they do not take into account the cross-cultural differences among the different Asian nationalities which may influence advertising effectiveness. Although many Pacific Rim countries share cultural similarities because of their Eastern perspective, one may not be able to standardize across Asian countries or apply the results of "Asian" content analyses to particular countries. For example, Sriram and Gopalakrishna (1991) grouped forty countries into six clusters based on their economic, cultural and media use similarities. Hong Kong and Singapore clustered with countries such as the U.S. and United Kingdom. Taiwan clustered with countries such as France, Chile and West Germany. Thailand and the Philippines clustered with India, Iran and Pakistan and Japan stood alone as a cluster.

Cross-Cultural Comparisons of Asian Markets. Other studies have compared advertising practices of various Pacific Rim countries to those used in the United States and other Western countries (e.g. Duncan & Ramaprasad 1995; Cutler, Javalgi & Erramilli 1992; Zandpour, Chang & Catalano, 1992). Critics of the content analysis studies have pointed out that although the studies' descriptive findings are useful in demonstrating cross-national differences and aiding in subsequent hypothesis development, they are limited in drawing conclusions about the effectiveness of the advertising. This is due mainly to the fact that researchers who conduct content analyses start with the premise that existing advertising practice has been correctly applied in the ads (e.g., the ads in and of themselves are "effective"), which may not always be the case (Taylor & Stern, 1997; Taylor, Miracle & Wilson, 1997).

Thailand as a Country of Study for the Current Research. Thailand, with a population of approximately 58 million, is primarily an agricultural country featuring a traditional extended family. In the past forty years, Thailand has gone through a dramatic change with the promotion of the Industrial Investment Act of 1960. The Thai Board of Investment started to protect tariffs and to assist Thai manufacturers in developing industry. This change resulted in Thailand making its mark as a developing industrialized nation (Suphachalasai, 1995). In 1996, merchandise import values were estimated at 1797.6 billion baht or $71.9 billion, and are predicted to increase 10.8% in 1997 (Thailand Development Research Institute Macro Economic Forecast [TDRI]).

While 68% of Thai women now occupy jobs outside of the home and Western influence is on the increase, the roles of men and women are not equal in Thai culture. One reason for this inequality is religion (Vichit-Vadakan, 1994). Buddhism, the main religion in Thailand, prohibits women from becoming monks and instead requires that women serve and support monks. Consequently, Thai females have traditionally had inferior roles and status in society. In addition, Thai girls learn domestic and culinary skills and wait to be married while boys have the opportunity to study with monks

(Sirimonkkala, 1991; Vichit-Vadakan, 1994).

Women's rights issues in Thailand were raised and considered in the eras of King Rama IV, who reigned from 1851-1868, and King Rama V, who reigned from 1868-1910. Subsequently, some laws that used to limit women's rights were eliminated. For example, Thai women gained the right to vote in the 1930s. In 1974, Thailand adopted a new constitution which clearly stated the equal rights of women and men (Thomson & Bhongsvej, 1995). Following the industrial revolution in the 1980s, the Thai social and economic system changed tremendously. Consequently, women had more opportunities to attend school, earn their own money and establish careers (Thomson & Bhongsvej, 1995).

Despite these changes, the division of household chores in the contemporary Thai family remains ambiguous. While researchers have found that more and more Thai men share in household chores, many men still considered housework "unmanly." Consequently, many Thai working women are expected to take responsibility in domestic work, child rearing, and outside employment (Komin, 1995; Petchpud, 1993; Kamolnavin, 1971).

Limited research has addressed advertising-related issues in Thailand. Apart from the previously cited Ford et al (1994), only a few research studies have examined female role portrayals in Thai advertising. Vongkoltoot (1988) found that the four female role portrayals articulated in Thai advertising were sex object (used most frequently), housewife/housekeeper, career woman and mother (used least frequently). The career woman image presented women working as efficiently as men. Vongkoltoot suggested that although Thai women have the opportunity to work outside the home, they were still expected to take responsibility for household chores more so than men because mass media continued to cultivate traditional roles for women.

Sirimonkkala (1991) surveyed Thai women's opinions about women's roles and status in television advertising. She found that half of the female respondents liked the traditional women images of housewife and mother, and that most thought these images reflected warmth and love in the family. Only one-fourth of the respondents wanted to change these images because they limited alternative roles for women.

In summary, to sell their products, manufacturers and advertisers need to understand what appeals to Thai audiences. This is particularly true for marketers of household products because Thai women play an important role in the purchase decision-making of the family (Petchpud, 1993). Presently, Thai women's attitudes about sex-appropriate roles are still ambiguous for advertisers.

The Current Study

Given the importance of the Asian market, the need for understanding how advertising effectiveness varies by culture, and heeding researchers' calls for experimental approaches to investigate the effectiveness of advertising aimed at the Asian market (Taylor, Miracle & Wilson, 1997), this study attempted a modified replication, in Thailand, of the experiment conducted by Jaffe and Berger (1994).

The four original hypotheses from Jaffe and Berger (1994) were tested. The phrasing of the hypotheses assumes that the Thai women's consumer behavior will parallel that of their American counterparts as reported by Jaffe and Berger (1994). These hypotheses reflected minor changes in wording to better reflect the current study:

H1a: Each of the two modern portrayals (superwoman and egalitarian) will yield higher advertising effectiveness among Thai women than the traditional portrayal.

H1b: Among Thai women, the egalitarian portrayal will yield higher advertising effectiveness than will the superwoman portrayal.

H2: Thai women with more contemporary gender ideologies will respond more favorably to the egalitarian portrayal than to the other portrayals.

H3: Thai women with higher incomes will respond more favorably to the egalitarian portrayal than to the other portrayals.

H4: Thai women who have no children will respond more favorably to the egalitarian portrayal than to the other portrayals

Two additional demographic-related hypotheses were added to give a better understanding of Thai women's attitudes. First, education was included as a variable because prior research indicated that education level may affect attitudes toward the perception of female portrayals in advertisements. Lundstrom and Sciglimpaglia (1977) found that highly educated women were found to be more critical of female role portrayals in advertising compared to other women. Thus, the fifth hypothesis was set as follows:

H5: Thai women with higher education will respond more favorably to the egalitarian portrayal than to the other portrayals compared to women with lower education.

Barry, Gilly and Doran (1985) found consistent interactions between attitudes toward work-orientation and advertisements. Homemaker-oriented advertisements were favored by low desire-to-work women. The majority of women in this group neither worked outside the home nor intended to be employed within 3-5 years, and were categorized as home oriented. Conversely, high desire-to-work women favored career women advertisements. Women in this group were presently employed or intended to be employed within the next 3-5 years and were considering work as a career. Thus, the sixth hypothesis was formulated:

H6: Thai working women will respond more favorably to the egalitarian portrayal than to the other portrayals compared to unemployed women.

Method

One hundred and two married Thai women participated in the study which was a 3 x 2 factorial design with sex role portrayals in the advertisements (traditional, egalitarian and superwoman) and gender ideology (traditional and egalitarian) as the factors. While the Jaffe and Berger study

(1994) provided a foundation for the current research, certain differences existed in the two studies. These differences are outlined in Table 1.

Independent Variables

Sex Role Portrayals. Three ads were developed to reflect the three levels of sex role portrayals: traditional, egalitarian and superwoman (as defined by Jaffe and Berger 1994). The ads featured a laundry detergent, *Breeze*. *Breeze* is an existing product, is one of the more popular brands of detergent in Thailand, and has been advertised in Thai women's magazines. These factors suggested it was appropriate for the experiment. To make the advertisements even more realistic, they incorporated *Breeze's* actual tagline. The only thing manipulated in the advertisements was the copy and visuals. The visuals were appropriate for each role portrayal; the copy in each advertisement was tailored to suit each of the three role portrayals (see Appendix 1 for the advertisements and translated copy used in the study).

As a manipulation check of the advertisements' ability to capture the various roles, six Thai women evaluated each advertisement. The six judges lived in a southeastern U.S. city, but had been reared in Thailand. Three worked or had worked in Thailand or the U.S., while the other three had never been employed. After exposure to the advertisements, the judges were given a rating form that consisted of the list of phrases describing three categories. These categories' concepts were copied from the Jaffe and Berger study (1994), however, the wording was modified slightly to make interpretation easier for the six Thai judges. Using a five-point likert scale (5 representing strongly agree and 1 representing strongly disagree), judges rated each advertisement on the following items:

> 1) The woman and the ad copy show that she is a housewife who is mainly responsible for the household chores (traditional role).
>
> 2) The woman and the ad copy show that she is a housewife who works outside and is mainly responsible for household chores (superwoman role).

3) The woman and the ad copy show that she is a housewife who works outside and shares household chores with her husband (egalitarian role).

Analysis of variance (ANOVA) was used to verify that each category represented a specific role portrayal. There were significant differences among the three advertisements (prob>|F|=.0001) in the predicted direction.

Gender Ideology. The 15 item *Attitude Toward Women Scale* (AWS) developed by Spence and Helmreich (1973) was used to assess the subjects' gender ideology. This scale was developed "to assess people's beliefs about the responsibilities, privileges, and behaviors in a variety of spheres that had traditionally been divided along gender lines but could, in principle, be shared equally by men and women" (Spence & Hahn, 1997 p.19). This scale has been used since the early seventies in several studies and has Cronbach alpha values in the mid-eighties or higher (Spence & Hahn, 1997).

To accommodate differences in the Thai culture, certain modifications were made to the AWS. One item was originally written as a "double barreled" question and was separated into two questions resulting in a 16-item scale. Based on discussions with women who had experience conducting research in Thailand, all attitude scales were modified to reflect forced choice. The experience of these researchers suggested that Thai women were not likely to express their opinions, but instead, tended to answer with neutral opinions. Thus, the scales were modified so that the subjects would be forced to exhibit a tendency toward one end of the scale or the other. The score range was modified from its original 0-3 (0 representing strongly agree and 3 representing strongly disagree) options to 1-6 (1 representing strongly agree and 6 representing strongly disagree) in an attempt to better capture subtle differences in the gender ideology of Thai women.

The modified scale was then translated to the Thai language. For two questions, items were slightly reworded to better reflect Thai culture. For example, the marriage ceremony in Thailand is different than in most Western cultures. Hence, the item "it is insulting to women to have the 'obey' clause in the marriage service," was changed to, "women should not be taught to 'obey' and 'follow' their husbands in matrimony." Another item was changed from the original "it is ridiculous for a woman to run a locomotive and for a man to darn socks" to "it is ridiculous that women are heads of households while men are homemakers."

As a manipulation check for the translation of the scale into the Thai language, four Thai women who were living in the United States (different from the judges used in the first manipulation check) examined the scale. Approval was arrived at when all judges interpreted and understood the meaning in each sentence in the same way. All Thai women judges were native Thai speakers.

Dependent Variables

The study incorporated the two measures of advertising effectiveness which Jaffe and Berger (1994) used: attitudes toward the ad and purchase interest in the product. The researchers also added measures of attitude toward the woman in each of the ads to give a clearer understanding of Thai women's attitudes toward each female role portrayal.

Attitudes toward the advertisements were measured by six-point semantic differential scales. Each point of the semantic differential scales had a phrase describing the degree of attitude (from most to least) below the point, so that Thai women who were not accustomed to this type of scale understood the intent of the instrument. Subjects indicated their feeling toward the advertisements along five dimensions: favorable/unfavorable, good/bad, modern/out-dated, attractive/unattractive and unique/predictable. Subjects indicated their feelings toward the woman's role in the advertisement using a six-point semantic differential scale along five dimensions: favorable/ unfavorable, modern/out-dated, attractive/unattractive, smart/dumb and warm/cold. Purchase interest toward the product was measured by asking the subject how likely she was to buy the advertised brand next time she needed to buy laundry detergent on a four-point bi-polar scale with very likely to buy and very unlikely to buy as endpoints.

Subjects and Procedure

Data was collected in urban and rural Thai communities over a three-week period in May, 1997. One hundred and two married Thai women age 18 and over participated. Subjects were selected using a convenience method in an effort to include a variety of women in the sample. Two employed women were recruited for every one unemployed woman. This yielded a sample employment rate outside the home of 67% which was comparable to the national Thai statistic. Additionally, to increase variation in income, education and presence of children, the researcher recruited subjects in a variety of places: public companies, government services and households in urban and rural areas. A demographic profile of the respondents in shown in Table 2.

Subjects were randomly assigned to one of the three advertisement treatments resulting in a sample size of 34 women seeing each ad. Subjects were individually interviewed, given the test advertisement, and instructed to read the ad (there was no time length imposed on how long the subject could look at the ad). Subjects then answered a questionnaire which assessed the measures of the three dependent variables, the Attitude toward Women Scale and demographic measures. It took approximately 10 minutes for each subject to complete all tasks.

Analysis and Results

Assessing Advertising Effectiveness

In order to investigate the hypotheses, an "Overall Attitude Toward the Ad" (Aad) scale was constructed based on the five individual ad evaluation measures. Cronbach's alpha for the Aad scale was .87. An Aad score was computed for each subject by averaging the scores from the five six-point semantic differential measures (cp. to Jaffe & Berger, 1994). Similarly, an "Overall Attitude Toward the Woman's Role in the Advertisement" (Awoman) scale was constructed. Cronbach's alpha for this scale was also .87. An average Awoman score was also calculated for each subject.

Sex Role Portrayals. Hypotheses 1a and 1b suggested that the modern portrayal of women would result in higher advertising effectiveness evaluations among the subjects. To test the hypotheses, an ANOVA was conducted to see if there were differences among the three executions for the three dependent measures: Aad, Awoman and Purchase Interest (PI). There were no significant differences among the three role portrayals for any of the three measures of advertising effectiveness (See Table 3). Thus, hypotheses 1a and 1b are rejected.

Gender Ideology

Hypothesis 2 predicted that women with more egalitarian gender ideologies would be more favorable to the egalitarian portrayal than any other positioning. Cronbach's alpha for the sixteen-item AWS was only .61. Therefore, as recommended by Churchill (1991), individual items which had a low item-to-total correlation were eliminated. After several iterations, the "best" result was a twelve-item scale with a Cronbach's alpha of .68. According to Peterson (1994), an alpha value of this level is acceptable for preliminary research. This scale resulted in a cumulative individual score ranging from 12 to 72. The midpoint of 49 was used to categorize subjects according to egalitarian versus traditional gender ideologies (cp. to Jaffe & Berger 1994). As a result, 47 subjects were classified as egalitarian and 55 subjects were traditional.

To test Hypothesis 2, a two-way ANOVA was used to analyze the interaction of gender ideology with role portrayal in the advertisement on the three measures of advertising effectiveness. There were no significant differences based on this interaction for any of the three measures (See Table 4). Thus, Hypothesis 2 is rejected.

Demographic Influences. Each demographic measure was divided into two classes: higher (more than 20,000 baht/mo) vs. lower (less than 20,000 baht/mo) income, presence vs. absence of children, higher (undergraduate degree) vs. lower (no undergraduate degree) education, and employed vs. unemployed status (cp. to Jaffe & Berger 1994). A two-way ANOVA was conducted to examine the interactions of the demographic variables with sex role portrayal in the ad for the three measures of advertising effectiveness.

Hypothesis 3 suggested that women with higher incomes would be more favorable to the egalitarian portrayal than any other portrayal (compared to women with lower incomes). There were no significant interactions for any of the three measures of advertising effectiveness (See Table 5). Thus, Hypothesis 3 is not supported.

Hypothesis 4 suggested that women without children would be more favorable to the egalitarian portrayal than any other portrayal compared to women with children. There were no significant differences for any of the advertising effectiveness measures (See Table 6).

Hypothesis 5 predicted that women with higher education would be more favorable to the egalitarian portrayal than the other two portrayals compared to women with lower education. There were no significant interactions for education and sex role portrayal (See Table 7). Hypothesis 5 is not supported.

Hypothesis 6 stated that employed women would be more favorable to the egalitarian portrayal than the other two portrayals compared to unemployed women. Again, there were no significant differences in the interactions of employment status and sex role portrayal for the three dependent measures (See Table 8). Thus, Hypothesis 6 is not supported.

Discussion and Implications

This study represents an initial attempt to see if a Western-based sex role portrayal study can be readily standardized and applied to a Pacific Rim Nation. In contrast to Jaffe and Berger's (1994) results among a sample of American women, there were no significant differences in Thai women's attitudes toward the advertisement, attitudes toward the woman's role portrayal in the advertisement or purchase interest based on the advertisement's sex role portrayal or the subject's gender ideology (Hypotheses 1 and 2). Demographic influences such as income, education and employment status also produced no significant differences in attitudes and purchase intention (Hypotheses 3, 4, 5 and 6). The absence of significant differences in this study suggests that cultural differences may be coming into play. These cultural differences can influence the transferability of American-based research in two important areas: questioning assumptions underlying consumer behavior and re-evaluating the methods by which that behavior is assessed.

A survey by Ford et al (1994) conducted in Thailand found that Thai women see advertising as giving a realistic portrayal of women. These same respondents also felt that the portrayal of women in advertising is getting better. Further, the respondents didn't feel that advertising suggested a woman's place is "in the home," nor did they find advertising's portrayal of women offensive. For the current study, Ford et al's findings suggest that regardless of whether the subjects viewed the traditional, superwoman or egalitarian portrayal, they likely considered the advertisements to be realistic and unoffensive. This may explain why the measures of advertising effectiveness used did not show significant differences among the three portrayals.

The above speculation is further borne out upon inspection of the average evaluations of the advertisements across the three role portrayals. On a six-point scale where a higher score reflected a more positive evaluation, the average evaluation for the traditional role portrayal was 4.78. For the superwoman and egalitarian role portrayals, the means were 4.96 and 4.84, repectively. In other words, all the women were mildly or "politely" positive in expressing their opinions about the advertisements. Such behavior is consistent with Thai culture where, unlike American women, Thai women live in close relationships with extended family members. Hence, one is encouraged to maintain harmony and direct confrontations are to be avoided. Thai women are also encouraged to be more passive rather than assertive (Suphap 1993).

Rather than interpreting the absence of significant results and low Cronbach alpha as obstacles to studying Eastern cultures, this study's findings offer insight and direction for conducting research in cultures which differ greatly from a Western perspective. First, the results underscore the concern voiced by other researchers that assumptions about consumer behavior, methodological approaches and research results derived from predominantly American-based literature can easily transfer or standardize to other cultures (Frith & Frith, 1990; Duncan & Ramaprasad, 1995; Taylor, Hoy & Haley, 1996). As previously discussed, Eastern cultures place value on indirectness, collaboration and a sense of belonging to a group (Frith & Frith, 1990). The Western approach of gathering consumer knowledge, opinion and purchase intention via individually completed surveys or experiments that "cut to the chase" in terms of asking questions and assessing responses may not be the best approach for understanding how Thai women respond to sex role portrayals in advertising.

Although they did not distinguish Western versus Eastern agencies, Duncan and Ramaprasad (1995) found in their survey among 100 advertising executives representing 35 countries that only 27% used surveys to conduct copy testing research. The vast majority (82%) used focus groups because this method was "best suited to spot problems related to cultural sensitivity and find ways around them (Duncan & Ramaprasad, 1995, p. 65)." In the current study, the similarity of the average evaluations among the three role portrayals suggests that the Thai subjects had difficulty expressing their opinions/attitudes using the Likert-type scale. Rather than being able to identify their response along the continuum, some subjects appeared to prefer answering in the middle of the scale relative to endpoints (e.g. favorable/unfavorable). This may be a reflection of the passive nature of women in

Thai culture. Furthermore, it is possible that some of the Thai subjects uncomfortable and unwilling to express their inner feelings in the presence of a researcher who was unfamiliar to them. This suggests that prior to conducting research among Thai women, researchers have to understand and spend some time with them before collecting data. As they become more familiar and comfortable, it is possible that Thai women may open up and express themselves more frankly.

As previously discussed, the "best" version of the translated Attitude Toward Women Scale resulted in a Cronbach's alpha of only .68. However, both the Aad and Awoman scales yielded alphas of .87. Why the difference? More traditional copy testing (Aad) measures of good/bad, unique/predictable, favorable/unfavorable appear to translate well both linguistically and culturally. Similarly, regardless of whether the culture is Eastern or Western, female subjects can readily apply measures such as modern/out-dated, attractive/unattractive or warm/cold to their evaluations of ethnically similar female models. However, with an existing Western/American developed scale -- in this case, one which preports to assess gender ideology -- the scale items may be laced with cultural meaning. Thus, simple translation of the English to the subjects' native language may be insufficient to tap the underlying construct. We advocate that future research in this area focus on developing a gender ideology scale which is geared toward the Eastern culture. Concepts such as traditional, egalitarian, equality and feminism may have dramatically different meanings to Eastern individuals compared to those of Western cultures. Similarly, researchers are cautioned against "merely translating" any existing psychological scale without first assessing its validity in the culture or nation of interest. Furthermore, as suggested by Sriram and Gopalakrishna (1991), not all Pacific Rim countries "cluster" together. It may be appropriate to develop consumer behavior-related scales by country.

In the debate concerning the extent that multinational corporations can standardize their advertising, "standardization" has been defined as "keeping one or more of the three basic components of a multinational advertising campaign -- strategy, execution, language -- the same (Duncan & Ramaprasad, 1995, 55)." We would suggest that another dimension be added: research. Developing strategy and tactics based on a translated, but standardized research approach can result in faulty information and subsequent decisions.

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Table 1

Differences Between the Jaffe and Berger Study and the Current Research

Jaffe & Berger, 1994	Current Study
Method	Method
6 ads, 2 for each portrayal	3 ads, 1 for each portrayal
2 demographics (presence of children, income)	4 demographics (presence of children, income, education, employment)
Subjects	Subjects
American women	Thai women
140 subjects	102 subjects
Place Data Was Gathered	Place Data Was Gathered
Northeastern United States	Thailand
Dependent Variables/ Cronbach's Alpha	Dependent Variables/ Cronbach's Alpha
Attitude toward the ad (not reported)	Attitude toward the ad (.87)
Gender ideology (.81)	Gender ideology (.67)
	Attitude toward the woman (.87) in the ad
Scale Range	Scale Ranges
1 to 7	1 to 6 (no mid point)
Product Used	Product Used
Food: Rice-a-Roni	Detergent: Breeze
Statistical Analysis	Statistical Analysis
MANOVA	ANOVA
	Correlations

TABLE 2

DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF SUBJECTS
(n=102)

VARIABLES	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
Income		
below 4,500 baht	*5*	*4.9%*
•4,500-8,000 baht	*21*	*20.6%*
•8,001-15,000 baht	*27*	*26.5%*
•15,001-20,000 baht	*13*	*12.7%*
•20,000 bath up	*36*	*35.3%*
Presence of Children		
with children	*69*	*67.7%*
•without children	*33*	*32.4%*
Education		
elementary	*24*	*23.5%*
•secondary	*31*	*30.4%*
•technical	*8*	*7.8%*
•undergraduate	*37*	*36.3%*
•graduate	*2*	*2.0%*
Employment		
employed	*69*	*67.7%*
•unemployed	*33*	*32.4%*

TABLE 3

(Hypotheses 1a, 1b)
Comparison of Sex Role Portrayals: Advertising Effectiveness Measures
Means

	Positioning				
	Traditional	Superwoman	Egalitarian	F-Value	Prob >|F|
Aad	*4.78 **	*4.96*	*4.84*	*0.38*	*0.6880*
Awoman	*4.75 **	*5.11*	*5.04*	*1.53*	*0.2224*
PI	*2.88 +*	*2.97*	*2.65*	*0.98*	*0.3797*

* on a six-point scale where 1 = strongly negative attitude to 6 strongly positive attitude.

+ on a four-point scale where 1 = strongly unlikely to buy to 4 = strongly likely to buy.

TABLE 4

(Hypothesis 2)
GENDER IDEOLOGY AND SEX ROLE PORTRAYALS
EGALITARIAN ATTITUDES (n=47) AND TRADITIONAL ATTITUDES (n=55)

	Attitude toward Woman Scale							
	Egalitarian			Traditional				
	Positioning			Positioning				
	T	SW	E	T	SW	E	F-Value	Prob >|F|
Aad	*4.63 **	*4.89*	*5.06*	*4.91*	*5.04*	*4.69*	*1.33*	*0.2705*
Awoman	*4.61 **	*5.06*	*4.99*	*4.86*	*5.18*	*5.07*	*0.15*	*0.8644*
PI	*2.67 +*	*2.94*	*2.86*	*3.05*	*3.00*	*2.50*	*1.19*	*0.3094*

Positioning : T = Traditional; SW = Superwoman; E = Egalitarian
* on a six-point scale where 1 = strongly negative attitude to 6 strongly positive attitude.
+ on a four-point scale where 1 = strongly unlikely to buy to 4 = strongly likely to buy.

TABLE 5

(Hypothesis 3)
INCOME AND SEX ROLE PORTRAYALS
HIGH INCOMES (n=36) AND LOW INCOMES(n=66)

	Attitude toward Woman Scale							
	High Income			Low Income				
	Positioning			Positioning				
	T	SW	E	T	SW	E	F-Value	Prob >|F|
Aad	*4.45 **	*5.15*	*4.60*	*5.12*	*4.87*	*4.92*	*2.46*	*0.0906*
Awoman	*4.48 **	*5.18*	*4.75*	*5.02*	*5.08*	*5.12*	*0.60*	*0.5512*
PI	*2.82 +*	*3.09*	*2.38*	*2.94*	*2.91*	*2.73*	*0.55*	*0.5804*

Positioning : T = Traditional; SW = Superwoman; E = Egalitarian
* on a six-point scale where 1 = strongly negative attitude to 6= strongly positive attitude.
+ on a four-point scale where 1 = strongly unlikely to buy to 4 = strongly likely to buy.

TABLE 6

(HYPOTHESIS 4)
PRESENCE OF CHILDREN AND SEX ROLE PORTRAYALS WITH CHILDREN (n=69) AND WITHOUT CHILDREN (n=33)

	Presence of Children							
	No Children			Children				
	Positioning			Positioning				
	T	SW	E	T	SW	E	F-Value	Prob >|F|
Aad	*4.80* *	*4.88*	*4.62*	*4.78*	*5.01*	*4.96*	*0.42*	*0.6605*
Awoman	*5.30* *	*4.92*	*4.85*	*4.58*	*5.23*	*5.14*	*2.91*	*0.0596*
PI	*3.38* +	*2.62*	*2.42*	*2.73*	*3.19*	*2.77*	*3.00*	*0.0545*

Positioning : T = Traditional; SW = Superwoman; E = Egalitarian

* on a six-point scale where 1 = strongly negative attitude to 6 strongly positive attitude.

+ on a four-point scale where 1 = strongly unlikely to buy to 4 = strongly likely to buy.

TABLE 7

(HYPOTHESIS 5)
EDUCATION AND SEX ROLE PORTRAYALS WITH HIGH EDUCATION (n=39) AND LOW EDUCATION (n=63)

	Education							
	High Education			Low Education				
	Positioning			Positioning				
	T	SW	E	T	SW	E	F-Value	Prob >|F|
Aad	*4.65* *	*4.72*	*4.62*	*4.90*	*5.06*	*4.98*	*0.00*	*1.0000*
Awoman	*4.40* *	*5.02*	*4.68*	*5.07*	*5.15*	*5.26*	*0.20*	*0.8160*
PI	*2.38* +	*2.50*	*2.62*	*3.33*	*3.17*	*2.67*	*1.90*	*0.1556*

Positioning : T = Traditional; SW = Superwoman; E = Egalitarian

* on a six-point scale where 1 = strongly negative attitude to 6 strongly positive attitude.

+ on a four-point scale where 1 = strongly unlikely to buy to 4 = strongly likely to buy.

TABLE 8

(HYPOTHESIS 6)
EMPLOYMENT AND SEX ROLE PORTRAYALS
EMPLOYED WOMEN (n=69) AND UNEMPLOYED WOMEN (n=33)

	Employment							
	Employed			**Unemployed**				
	Positioning			**Positioning**				
	T	**SW**	**E**	**T**	**SW**	**E**	**F-Value**	**Prob >|F|**
Aad	*4.72* *	*4.88*	*4.89*	*4.91*	*5.13*	*4.75*	*0.44*	*0.6452*
Awoman	*4.55* *	*5.16*	*5.04*	*5.18*	*5.02*	*5.02*	*1.64*	*0.1988*
PI	*2.83* +	*2.87*	*2.61*	*3.00*	*3.18*	*2.73*	*0.07*	*0.9281*

Positioning : T = Traditional; SW = Superwoman; E = Egalitarian

* on a six-point scale where 1 = strongly negative attitude to 6 strongly positive attitude.

+ on a four-point scale where 1 = strongly unlikely to buy to 4 = strongly likely to buy.

Appendix 1

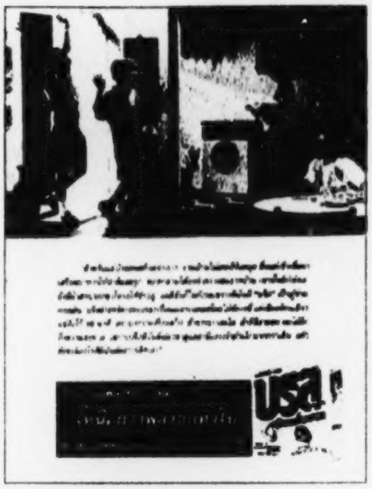
Advertising Treatments

1.1 Traditional role portrayal

1.2 Superwoman role portrayal

1.3 Egalitarian role portrayal

ADVERTISEMENTS AND TRANSLATED COPY

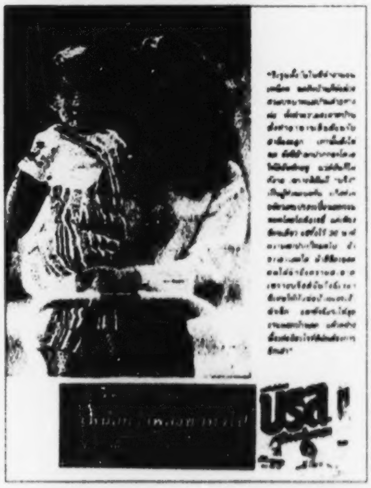


Copy of Traditional Role Advertisement

Running a household and keeping my family organized can be quite a task. I wake up every morning, get my family ready, and then spend half the day cleaning house. And there's laundry. With the amount of clothes my family goes through, it's a monumental task. But thanks to Breeze, I don't have to worry about getting my family's clothes clean. Pour in one scoop, let clothes soak 30 minutes, start the washing machine, and that's it. Colors are bright and my family's clothes feel clean. With Breeze, I have extra time to take care of my husband and kids. Now, do I need anything more?

Tagline

Revolutionize the way you wash your clothes with the most powerful detergent of all. Deeper cleaning than ever before.

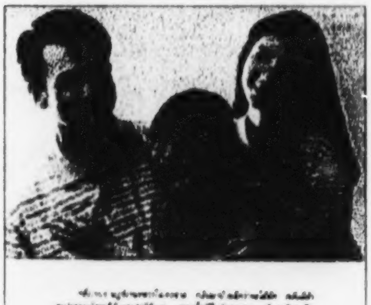


Copy of Superwoman Role Advertisement

Working all day outside the home is tough. Add to that managing a household and a massive pile of laundry, and my day gets to be exhausting. But thanks to Breeze, the laundry part is a little easier. Pour in one scoop, let clothes soak 30 minutes, start the washing machine, and that's it. Colors are bright and my family's clothes feel clean. With Breeze, I have extra time to take care of my family and get ready for work the next day. Now, do I need anything more?

Tagline

Revolutionize the way you wash your clothes with the most powerful detergent of all. Deeper cleaning than ever before.



Copy of Egalitarian Role Advertisement

Having full-time jobs, managing a household, and taking care of our family can be quite demanding for me and my husband. Especially when you add in our family's massive pile of laundry. But thanks to Breeze, the laundry part is a little easier. Pour in one scoop, let clothes soak 30 minutes, start the washing machine, and that's it. Colors are bright and our family's clothes feel clean. With Breeze, we have extra time for our kids and jobs. Now, do we need anything more?

Tagline

Revolutionize the way you wash your clothes with the most powerful detergent of all. Deeper cleaning than ever before.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Preparing Students for Real-world Ethical Dilemmas: A Stakeholder Approach

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Professional Freedom and Responsibility Session of the
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Abstract

Advertising educators often ignore complaints that the advertising industry is devoid of all morals. Harrison (1990), for example, found that only 25% of colleges or universities offer a course devoted to communications ethics; those schools that offer a course generally teach it from a journalism perspective. Based on a review of the literature and additional preliminary research, this paper argues for a more business-oriented approach to teaching advertising ethics. Given that advertising's role in society is fundamentally different from journalism's mission, we suggest using stakeholder theory to introduce students to the complicated web of interested and affected parties in any advertising ethics decision.

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Introduction

Legend has it that, unconcerned with the destruction taking place around him, Nero remained in his palace and fiddled while Rome was consumed with flames. In much the same way, advertising educators, safe in the ivory towers of academe, appear to be ignoring the complaints of concerned citizens, special interest groups, and legislators that the advertising industry is devoid of all morals. Harrison (1990), for example, found that advertising ethics receive little more than lip service from faculty. Ninety-seven percent of the 134 respondents thought that ethics were an important topic and nearly 93% said that ethics are covered in the school's coursework; however, only 25% of colleges or universities offer a course devoted to communications ethics. Even more discouraging, less than half of those who offer a course in ethics require students to take it. Furthermore, those schools that offer a communications ethics course generally teach it from a journalism perspective.

Recent outcries over advertising campaigns such as Calvin Klein's kiddie porn and R. J. Reynolds' Joe Camel point to a general feeling that advertisers are without consciences. It is therefore important that we look at how those entering the field are prepared to meet inevitable ethical dilemmas. Based on a review of the literature and additional preliminary research conducted to update and verify earlier findings, this paper argues for a more business-oriented approach to teaching advertising ethics. Advertising's role in society is fundamentally different from journalism's mission such that ethics education based on a journalistic model often fails to address the ethical dilemmas in advertising. We therefore suggest the use of stakeholder theory to introduce students to the complicated web of interested and affected parties in any advertising ethics decision.

Literature Review

The Value of Ethics Courses

Research already conducted in this and related areas offers preliminary evidence that advertising and communications ethics courses are necessary and productive. Drawing on earlier research by Rokeach indicating that, while values generally remain consistent, they can change as a result of education, a 1987 study by Surlin examined students' values both prior to and after taking a mass communications ethics course. Surlin explains that values are closely tied to one's self-esteem and, if education points out inconsistencies in one's value system, self-esteem may be lowered causing a necessary shift in values. A course in media ethics, it was thought, would encourage students to evaluate their value system and develop a more salient system.

Surlin asked 20 students enrolled in a mass communications ethics course to rank Rokeach's list of 18 terminal (end-state) values and 18 instrumental (modes of conduct) values. This was done at the beginning and end of the semester and the averages for each were compared. Throughout the course students were asked to make decisions regarding specific cases and then consider the values most relevant to their decisions. The results show that the "post-course value pattern reflects a more 'moral' rather than 'competency-based' orientation" (p. 567). Surlin concludes that "the media ethics course had a noticeable and an ethically positive effect upon the students' value system. Consequently, one might assume that this shift in values will lead to more moral, ethical, and responsible decision-making by these soon-to-be media professionals" (p.568).

A study by DeConinck and Good (1989) found a significant difference between business students' and sales practitioners' perceptions of ethical behavior. In this study each group was asked to read three scenarios from business ethics courses. Respondents were then asked to evaluate whether the actions of the salespeople in the scenarios were ethical or unethical. The findings show that "managers indicated a greater concern for ethical behavior and less attention to sales than did students. Students indicated a strong desire for success regardless of ethical constraints violated" (p.667). Like Surlin, DeConinck and Good conclude that education is an important factor in promoting ethical behavior.

> It is recommended that within the structure of all courses, faculty and operation of the Business College and University continually can reflect the ideals and values that are suggested by an improved ethical framework. This means that an early course in ethics, followed by practical, overt operational usage of ethics be continually standardized and implemented. (p.675)

James, Pratt, and Smith (1994) looked specifically at the field of advertising with a comparative survey of advertising practitioners' and students' ethical perspectives. In this study, four scenarios were used to compare the ethics of the two groups and to ascertain the role of deontological reasoning in ethical decision-making. The researchers found that practitioners were more likely to look for deontological solutions (rules) for ethical questions. The researchers suggest that this indicates a need for more specific guidelines. They also agree with earlier findings that education is crucial. "The results …suggest that ethical behaviors need to be nurtured early and often within one's cultural upbringing and not necessarily later by unenforceable codes that sometimes define ethical behaviors situationally" (p.80).

The Way We Teach Ethics

These studies as well as others (Glenn & Van Loo, 1993; Richardson, 1993) overwhelmingly suggest that ethics should be a crucial part of any communications curriculum. So how are ethics being taught to advertising students? We have already seen that many advertising students receive little or no ethics education and that those who do tend to learn about ethics from a journalistic perspective (Harrison, 1990). Augmenting Harrison's work is a study by Plumley and Ferragina (1990). They reviewed the eight most-used advertising books to determine how ethics are treated in introductory advertising courses. The researchers conclude that:

> the most serious and glaring problem ...is the need for writers of introductory advertising texts to present the subject of ethics within the framework of traditional ethical theory and principles. Without the comprehensive framework that ethical theory provides, the student is left to rely on a personal moral standard or individual ethical relativism to guide him or her in making ethical decisions. (p.254)

Other criticism included the cursory presentation of ethical questions without any suggested answers, and the biased defense of advertising in the face of real ethical problems.

It is evident that advertising educators devote little attention to questions of ethics. Perhaps they feel that ethics are unimportant, or maybe they are reluctant to tackle such a prickly area. Plumley and Ferragina point out just some of the difficulties related to teaching ethics -- the need to include philosophical constructs, avoid moral relativism, and provide normative ethics without indoctrination. Still we know that a course in ethics can have a positive effect on students' ability to evaluate morally difficult situations. Advertising educators therefore must strive to make ethics relevant to advertising students and to foster ethical action in addition to ethical thinking.

The Unique Ethical Issues Faced in Advertising

The ethical issues raised in advertising are not completely different from those raised in other related disciplines: journalism, marketing, business administration. Advertising however serves a very different societal function – increasing market growth by persuading consumers to purchase products – than journalism, which aims to inform rather than persuade. These dissimilar objectives necessarily lead to different types of ethical questions that may be better addressed with different ethics theories. It follows that if one of the goals of any ethics course is to sensitize students to the issues they may face, educators must approach teaching advertising ethics differently.

Christians' (1980) discussion of journalistic ethics shows that journalists face many of the same constraints as do advertisers. Deadline pressures as well as the economic structure of the press and the drive for profits constrain a journalist's ability to exercise free will. Without free will there is no personal responsibility for ethical decisions (pp. 43-44). While members of both professions face these economic and temporal constraints, advertisers' very mission is to generate profits for their clients by persuading consumers. Journalists, on the other hand, are charged with selling newspapers (or attracting viewers) by providing useful, interesting information.

Some of the ethical issues particular to the advertising industry have already been uncovered. Rotzoll and Christians (1980), for example, surveyed advertising agency personnel and found that ethical problems fall on two dimensions: the advertising message, which includes questions of what should be advertised, how the message should be crafted, and where ethics enter the process of message construction; and the agency-client relationship, which includes serving both the agency and the client fairly, and confidentiality. Their findings indicate that personnel use the standard of immediate consequences when deciding how to act. In other words, act utilitarianism is most often used to resolve ethical problems. The researchers argue that a more sophisticated act-utilitarianism based on long-term consequences would be more appropriate. This system would function more like a system of rule-utilitarianism that provides situational solutions based on long-term outcomes.

Hunt and Chonko (1987) expanded on these findings with a subsequent survey of advertising managers. They found a discrepancy between the ethical issues covered by industry codes of ethics and those actually faced by practitioners. Once again, treating clients fairly topped the managers' lists of ethical problems in advertising.

These studies suggest that advertising ethics differ from journalistic ethics and that the issues encountered by advertisers may be better solved using different ethical constructs. As Martinson (1996) correctly points out, the persuasive nature of advertising places an additional burden on advertisers to act responsibly.

> For the advertiser -- and advertising students -- the question, therefore, must center around making judgments as to which types and methods of persuasion are ethical and which are not. Students need to understand that the key to making such judgments **ethically** rests in the advertiser placing the concerns of his/her intended audience at the same level as his/her own and those of the client or employer. (Martinson, 1996, p.12)

Stakeholder theory, borrowed from the business ethics literature, does just that by introducing students to the various stakeholders in the advertising industry.

Method

This project relies in part on the studies conducted by Rotzoll and Christians (1980) and Hunt and Chonko (1987), which examined the types of ethical questions most often faced by advertising practitioners and their means of resolving these problems. Qualitative interviews also were conducted with 10 advertising account managers in the Knoxville, New York, and Atlanta markets to determine whether the issues found in the previous studies still emerge a decade later. The account managers varied in age, gender, years of experience, and educational backgrounds. The participants also had experience with a wide range of product categories, from agri-chemical to tobacco to packaged goods to sports teams. To better ensure the participants willingness to discuss ethical issues, all were granted confidentiality. The goal of these interviews was to determine:

- what types of ethical questions the account managers face on a regular basis;
- what issues they consider most important and worthy of attention by educators; and
- how they generally solve ethical dilemmas (whether through adherence to industry/company codes, reliance on personal standards, etc.).

We then analyzed the data by looking for recurring categories of the most frequently encountered ethical issues and the relationship among these categories. Our categories were then checked against previous research findings. From the interviews, three themes emerged, two of which – loyalty to the client and loyalty to the agency – are refinements of one of Rotzoll and Christians' and Hunt and Chonko's themes. The previous research provides a fourth theme, the advertising message, not discussed by the interview participants. While this fourth theme did appear in the interview data, participants indicated that ethical problems of message construction arise less frequently and are more easily resolved. While it is possible that additional interviews would raise other specific ethical issues, they would likely fit into one of the four broad categories.

More importantly, concern over how to balance the interests among groups when resolving ethical problems was found in all 10 interviews. It is this relationship among categories that points to the usefulness of stakeholder theory for educating advertising students. Therefore, the stakeholder model advocated herein would be applicable regardless of whether the themes are modified as a result of additional research.

Findings and Discussion

Analysis of the interview data presents three recurring themes; Loyalty to the Client, Loyalty to the Agency, and Loyalty Within the Agency. Previous research suggests a fourth theme, Loyalty to the Audience. Furthermore, the data suggests that account managers resolve ethical dilemmas by choosing loyalties rather than by balancing the interests of all parties. It is this favoring of one group at the expense of the others that may give the impression that advertisers are unethical. We propose that stakeholder theory, which emphasizes that no single group should be treated as the means to another group's ends, may help advertising students develop the skills needed to balance the often conflicting concerns of the agency, client, coworkers, and audience.

Loyalty to the Client

Participants view their relationships with clients as the most ethically challenging aspect of their jobs. As one participant stated, "I think the kinds of ethical things we run into are not as much on the actual product but on the client relationship." It appears that the nature of working on someone's behalf while not actually employed by that person raises particular ethical concerns. Most often questions arise around how much information to share with clients and where the line between honesty and deceit can be drawn. A woman with experience at one of the US's top agencies explained:

> It depends on the problem but I would never lie or use puffery – I suppose that's the nicer word to use – for something I didn't think I could accomplish. If I blatantly did something wrong and we wronged the client, I would take the hit. And what somebody said to me was, "Take the hit earlier." The earlier you admit that you did something that there's no way in hell

> you can fix, the earlier you can make it up to the person that you've wronged.

Sometimes lies are the result of an account manager's best intentions. One participant discussed the ethical problem faced when you over-promise to the client.

> How honest are you with the client? What do you share? What do you not share? How do you solve the gap in expectation and delivery? That's the first area where an AE can get into trouble … This gets right to the heart of the ethical matter and that is be deadly honest. There is seldom a good opportunity … there is no excuse for lying. There is absolutely no excuse for lying… I will temper that a little bit by saying there is no excuse for lying, but you can be selective about the truth you share. The client doesn't need to know everything.

As with many ethical dilemmas, issues related to loyalty to the client often center on money. One participant gave the following hypothetical example.

> If your client gives you a certain budget – say they give you $500,000 – and, looking out for their business and trying to move their business forward, you've come to the conclusion that you can come up with a plan that is twice as effective and costs half as much, now do you recommend that knowing that the agency is going to lose $250,000 worth of money that they could be earning commission off of? Or do you push the client's business forward and save them $250,000? What is the right thing to do and what should you do? That's a very common decision.

Rotzoll and Christians offer a similar example where doing the best thing for the client will cost the agency money. In all cases the ethical conflict arises out of a conflict between protecting the agency's reputation and profits and furthering the aims of the client.

Loyalty to the Agency

While it is important that account managers look out for their clients, participants stressed that they always keep in mind for whom they ultimately work. It is interesting, however, that loyalty to the agency was most often expressed in terms of client confidentiality. It appears that this is one area in which the interests of the client also protect the agency's interests. As one participant explained:

> Obviously, client confidentiality is an interesting thing. If you're talking, let's say, about the telecommunications industry. Let's say here I am at Y&R working on AT&T. If I get approached, hypothetically, by J. Walter Thompson and they make me an offer that is definitely hands above what anybody at Y&R is willing to go for me, then I would definitely consider leaving. But at the same time, there are things that you know that are going on with the client that maybe could affect them and that maybe you could bring to another place. Let's say if they approached me and I took the job and then they said tell us what you know. I would say no because personally I know how I am as far as loyalty to the people I worked for.

Another woman expressed the same feeling when talking about training new hires and interns.

> They have to respect confidentiality requests by clients and information they share with you on their behalf as well as in the agency. Always be loyal to the group you're working for and if you move on don't try to take it with you. There's always got to be that sort of loyalty.

Loyalty Within the Agency

As the participants explained, the issue of honesty carries internal as well as external ramifications. At times the best interest of the client or the agency means sacrificing a coworker's interests.

> I guess maybe you could look at internal agency issues. Like I just talked about being truthful with your creative team that, "Hey, I'll go out and sell this but understand I'm not believing in this product. I'll attempt to not let that taint my delivery but understand if it doesn't fly, it will probably be for these reasons." I've seen situations where account people will take creative and they'll say, "This stuff stinks." And they have no intentions of selling it. They're gonna go out, kill it with the client, bring it back, and say, "Client hated it. Revise it." I can't get you to revise it, so rather than fighting you internally,

> I'm gonna be deceitful, take it out, and have the client kill it. That's the easy way. And come back with false blood on you saying, "Boy, I just bled out there trying to sell this stuff and they just wouldn't go for it." So there're internal ethical issues.

Another participant discussed how one member of an account team may have to take the fall for another's mistakes. In her example, an account manager blamed the traffic person for a mix-up with advertising copy for a television billboard.

> He called the client and said that the traffic person messed up. He totally pushed it off on somebody else that has no contact with the client, that the client couldn't call and say, "Why'd you do this wrong?" It was an overall client service thing that we should have noticed but, so that he wouldn't get blamed for not keeping tabs on things, he pushed it onto somebody lower to make himself look better.

Loyalty to the Audience

Because the interviews mainly dealt with the most common ethical questions, ethical issues surrounding the advertising message, a theme found in Rotzoll and Christians' and Hunt and Chonko's research, was not really addressed by the participants in this study. They all acknowledged the importance of such issues as representation of minorities and women in advertising and advertising of controversial products like cigarettes. But because these issues have received so much attention both inside and out of the industry, participants felt they were better understood than the issues discussed above. Message related issues also come up less often than issues related to day-to-day business relationships.

As a participant with a degree in advertising from a nationally ranked program explained, the issue of advertising of vice products has been well-covered.

> I think we all know that. I don't think it's stuff we need to be educated on. I mean, I think we all understand the ethical situations around tobacco advertising, liquor advertising. There's so much media on it already that it's something they could probably touch on in the textbooks but I don't think the

> average student is going to learn any more from that than they already know.

Another participant discussing representation in advertising said:

> Usually going into casting you're looking for some diversity. That's pretty well understood and expected. And not just because it's correct to do it but because society expects that more now. Really it makes that easier. I think 10 years ago it was a tougher issue because people were less sensitive and expectations were not so... You show something to kids now, they expect to see different looking people hanging out together.

While issues related to the advertising message may be less common, they certainly are no less important. The recent cases mentioned above (Joe Camel and Calvin Klein) demonstrate that advertisers must continue to consider their means of persuading advertising audiences. And as these comments demonstrate the answers to some of the societal questions are more widely accepted than the answer to the more business-oriented ethical issues. Perhaps this is a reflection of educators efforts as well as general public discussion of them.

These four themes represent categories of the most common advertising ethics questions. Looking outside the advertising literature, one can find similarities in the ethical considerations of other relationship-based businesses. Seib and Fitzpatrick (1995), in their book titled *Public Relations Ethics*, write of five duties that public relations professionals must face: duty to self, duty to client organization, duty to employer, duty to profession, and duty to society (p16). Obviously, these overlap considerably with the four loyalties discussed above, indicating that, while advertising differs from journalism in many regards, it shares many aspects of other business based on building and maintaining relationships with several constituencies.

How Ethical Problems Are Resolved

With so many interests to consider, how do advertising managers resolve ethical dilemmas? Participants uniformly stated that they rely on their own personal codes to resolve ethical questions as opposed to looking to industry codes or superiors for guidance. They also tend to make decisions on a case-by-case basis. As one participant put it, "Personally, I would think that you've really got to take it on a brand-by-brand basis. I know from my own personal experience, it just depends on the brand you're working on and the target you're going after." This finding supports that of Rotzoll and Christians (1980) that "agency personnel typically follow the standard of immediate consequences when deciding how to act" (p.428).

From the interviews, quotes such as the following, showing the ethical relativism of many participants, were common.

> I would talk to [students] about personal ethics because if I'm a liar to my friends, if I'm one of those dirty liars you know in school and if I exaggerate on everything, chances are that's the way I'm going to be in business. So it's something that you want to talk about – what is ethical behavior, not what is ethical behavior in advertising but just, in general, what is the right and wrong thing to do?
>
> It depends on how well you sleep at night. If I feel that I'm doing something or being asked to do something that I'm going to have trouble sleeping over, then I'll fight it. A job is a job and you have to live with yourself every night. So I guess it depends on how much you can live with.

These quotes suggest that advertising managers handle ethical problems on an ad hoc basis without the benefit of any ethical constructs to guide them. Furthermore, their ethical reasoning is often limited to considering only one of the many groups that will be affected. As a participant with a large agency in New York explained, "you will find within the industry that there are certain people that are loyal to the company and the company people first and foremost. Then there are other people that everything they say or do they will do for the client." He went on to say, "My personal feeling is toward the company." Another participant said:

> There are two different agendas at work. We do advertising to make money –we're not in it for the love of it – so we have to look out for the bottom line. And we're providing a service and we're charging a fee. But at the same time, part of our service is to improve the client's business. And sometimes those two agendas conflict. And depending on who you ask, you're going to get different answers on what is the right and wrong decision to make.

As suggested earlier, the choosing of loyalties may contribute to the perception that advertisers act unethically. Yet one of the most common ethical frameworks, the Potter Box, addressed in communications ethics texts instruct students to do just that. Seib and Fitzpatrick (1995) write, "Public relations professionals who face dilemmas must identify potentially conflicting loyalties and clarify which should take precedence in particular situations" (p.16). They go on to present the Potter Box, which asks students to identify the values and principles involved in any ethical dilemma then choose between loyalties, as a tool for making that assessment (pp.35-36). They explain that "such a process forces one to prioritize both the values and the publics that are most important in a given situation" (p.35). This form of reasoning however leads to using one or more groups (loyalties) as merely means to another's ends. Stakeholder theory, on the other hand, stresses the balancing of interests.

Summary

Our findings along with the existing literature suggest that advertising students would benefit from an introduction to ethical theories. Being prepared for the real world means more than simply knowing about ethics it requires some understanding of how to handle ethical problems. Martinson (1996) explains that "a concern for advertising ethics will be of little relevancy to either those active in the field or the general public if that concern is not translated into something more than an intellectual appreciation of what it means to be ethical" (p.4). Therefore, educators must foster what Martinson calls the "will" to act ethically. This goes back to demonstrating to students that ethics are a part of everyday life. Once students learn to practice ethical behavior in all aspects of living, they will find ethical decision-making in advertising easier.

Theory offers students a system for making ethical decisions. Starr explains that:

> systematic theory allows one to make moral decisions in a consistent manner. It allows one to live a life with moral standards which one can practice over a lifetime. It allows one to be a seriously morally reflective person. In the absence of theory, all ethical decision making becomes situational…From here, it is a short step to ethical relativism, and for some another step to moral cynicism and despair. (Starr in Ashmore and Starr, 1991, p.35)

Stakeholder theory provides such a structure for ethical decision making and is particularly relevant to the relationship-based business of advertising.

A Better Approach: Stakeholder Theory for Balancing Interests

The data suggest that account managers must balance the interests of their employing agency, clients, departments within the agency, and targeted groups. Because the agendas of these various stakeholders often conflict, agency personnel feel they must choose loyalties. Their behavior may then appear unethical to those other groups or to those whose loyalties are aligned differently. Stakeholder theory emphasizes that the very existence of corporations is based on fiduciary relationships among all parties with an interest in that corporation: customers, stockholders, employees, and the community. None of these parties therefore can be treated as a mere means toward achieving another's goals.

Stakeholder theory, rooted in management literature, simply argues that corporations must look beyond the interests of their stockholders to consider all those affected by corporate decisions. In essence, the theory states that, "corporations have stakeholders, that is, groups and individuals who benefit from or are harmed by, and whose rights are violated or respected by corporate actions" (Evans and Freeman, 1988, p.100). The duty of the corporate manager is to balance the relationships among stakeholders.

This duty arises from the social contract between society and the corporation. Donaldson (1982) argues that, similar to the government's social contract with the citizenry, businesses have a social contract with the public, which requires that businesses act not just to maximize profits but to benefit their consumers. This contract has been interpreted several ways but "amid the various forms of the social contract theory a common strand exists: an emphasis on the *consent* of the parties" (Donaldson, 1982, p.41). Social contract theory tells us that the corporation "cannot be viewed as an isolated moral entity unconstrained by the demands of society, for its very reason for existing lies with its capacity to satisfy certain social interest" (Donaldson, 1982, p.55).

The social contract can be interpreted as saying: the public allows businesses to exist – to use resources, own property, and receive special tax breaks – in exchange for which consumers expect some benefit, generally high quality, reasonably priced products. In

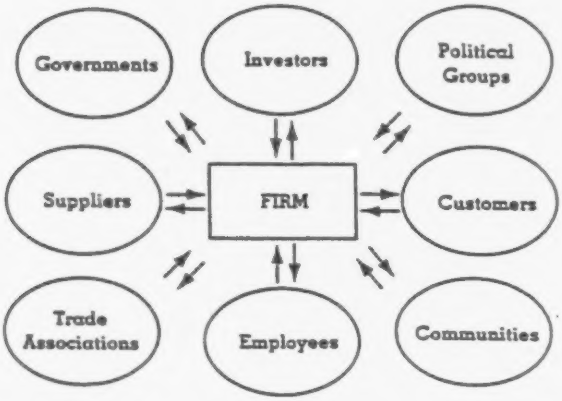

Figure 1: The Stakeholder Model (Donaldson and Preston, 1995, p.69)

addition to supplying benefits, consumers expect corporations to act responsibly. It is from this social contract that stakeholder theory emerges. As Evan and Freeman (1988) explain, "Any social contract that justifies the existence of the corporate form includes the notion that stakeholders are a party to that contract" (p.103).

Stakeholder goes beyond social contract theory, which speaks more generally about a company's obligation to society, to show how the interests of sometimes conflicting groups must be balanced. As Donaldson and Preston (1995) explain, "stakeholder analysts argue that *all* persons or groups with legitimate interests participating in an enterprise do so obtain benefits and that there is no prima facie priority of one set of interests and benefits over another" (p.68). The theory can be represented as a mutual exchange between a firm and each of its stakeholders (see Figure 1). Stakeholder theory thereby redefines the corporation's role. Evan and Freeman (1988) write, "The very purpose of the firm is, in our view, to serve as a vehicle for coordinating stakeholder interests. It is through the firm that each stakeholder group makes itself better off through voluntary exchange" (pp.102-3). Of

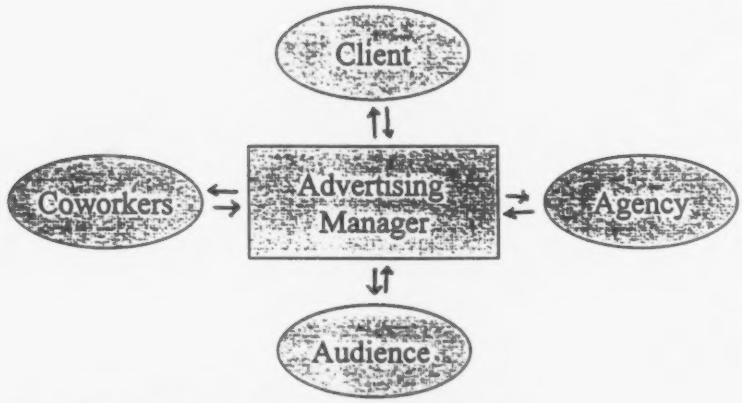

Figure 2: The Stakeholder Model for Advertising

course it is no small feat to balance dissimilar interests; at times this may even be impossible. Still stakeholder's important contribution is in emphasizing a firm's obligation to all groups and the need to try to strike a fair balance.

Advertising agencies obviously carry the same responsibilities as any other corporation; yet the data indicates that, rather than considering the interests of all parties to the agency, advertising managers tend to favor one group over others. We have suggested how this behavior may create the perception that advertisers are unethical. Stakeholder theory offers a theoretical framework in which advertising students can consider the relationship-based nature of the advertising industry and how they can make more ethical decisions.

The theory's applicability to the advertising industry becomes apparent when we adjust Donaldson and Preston's model to incorporate the themes previously discussed (see Figure 2). While further research may uncover additional stakeholders whose interests advertising managers should consider, the usefulness of the model stands. Advertising managers in fact view their role as one of coordinating the interests of the client and the agency. As one participant said of his job description, "I work as a liaison between the

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Detroit agency and the Atlanta zone. I facilitate and make sure all or projects are done on time and within budget. And I work with all facets of the agency." What stakeholder adds to the job description is the insistence that all parties, including coworkers and audiences, be treated equally as much as possible. Advertising is an industry built on relationships. It is also founded on trust; each party must trust that the advertising manager will do her best to serve its needs. Stakeholder theory can be used to stress this to students. The theory also provides an understanding of how advertising agencies should function in society to aid market growth for both the agency and clients, enrich employees' lives, and provide entertainment and information to audiences.

Conclusion

This paper offers a suggested framework for teaching advertising ethics based on existing and additional preliminary research. Stakeholder theory is particularly well-suited to the advertising industry for several reasons: having grown out of management literature, it works within the context of advertising's business function; as a model it is meant to maintain and strengthen a web of relationships; it helps demonstrate that advertising managers can behave ethically on multiple fronts rather than choosing among stakeholders. Given research that show students benefit from an early introduction to ethical issues and ethics theories, we suggest that stakeholder become a part of courses dealing with advertising ethics.

Once courses are developed research is needed to assess their effectiveness. Such ongoing research and the application of the findings to advertising ethics courses can go a long way toward bettering the industry and toward demonstrating to the concerned public that questions of ethics are important – that practices are guided by more than the profit motive. Pope John Paul II aptly summarized the fear that advertising may lead society down the road to ruin. "In order to grasp the complexity of the moral questions posed by this influential aspect of the world of broadcasting, publishing and communicating, it is enough to recall the imperative of respect for the truth in all human relations, or the importance for society of avoiding the pitfalls of an artificial and manipulative consumerism" (Catholic Church 1996). If the advertising profession is going to stand up to this kind of criticism, advertising academicians must take questions of ethics seriously, both in terms of study and teaching.

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Holistic Curriculum Assessment Case Study: Using Educators and Professionals to Evaluate Employment Qualifications of Recent Graduates

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Holistic Curriculum Assessment Case Study:
Using Educators and Professionals to Evaluate
Employment Qualifications of Recent Graduates

This study undertakes a holistic curriculum review from the perspective of educators and employers. The goal is to identify desirable professional outcomes for advertising and public relations students at a major midwestern university to gain employment. The literature reveals strong support for developing a work-ready population.

Case Study: Large Midwestern Public University

The case study is an Advertising Department which achieved an international reputation using a "professional" curriculum strategy. It was the first Advertising major to be offered by a university (Ross & Schweitzer, 1990). The first Dean's "avowed premise 'learning by doing', was to have top priority" (English, 1988, p. 9-10). The question facing the Advertising faculty is, "What educational outcomes are expected by students, employers and educators in the advertising and public relations field?"

Review of the Literature

The philosophical idealism versus realism education debate has been ongoing since Plato and Aristotle, 427-322 BC Each root philosophy enjoys support and disapproval in a cyclical fashion. The pragmatic education philosophy began with Francis Bacon, 1561-1626. Rousseau, 1712-1778, expanded pragmatism into an instructional strategy when he suggested "learning by doing." Ozman and Craver (1981) say educational philosophies are developed and become fashionable based on economic and societal needs. This cyclical debate was re-discovered in reviewing the history of advertising education.

Advertising Education Reflects the Profession's Needs

A young field of advertising education in the United States has already experienced three distinct socio-economic phases. During the industrial economic growth cycle at the turn of the century American advertising was offered in journalism and business schools as a "how" curriculum not a "why" (Ross, 1991, p. 29). This praxis approach continued until the Ford and Carnegie business education reports in 1959 and the United States' world economic leadership was established. The result of these reports was a swing toward the theoretical approach to the business curriculum. The third socio-economic phase began during the financial recession of the late 1970's and early 1980's. America needed to rebuild its economy for international competition. The world economy was undergoing a major economic transition to an information-based economy from an industrial manufacturing base. Today, American businesses clamor for a work-ready population.

The praxis versus theory curriculum debate in advertising education research journals centers on whether the curriculum should be established by the academy or professionals (Rotzoll, 1985; Schweitzer, 1988; Lancaster, Katz & Cho, 1990; Prato, 1988).

Misalignment of curriculum expectations during this third transition between phases is well illustrated by the AEJMC Task Force on the Future of Journalism and Mass Communication Education (1989). There were two areas of disagreement between educators and practitioners. These differences demonstrate the need to periodically realign a professional curriculum like advertising and public relations.

1. Practitioners ranked student internships as the most important class for advertising students. Educators ranked internships eighth out of 14 classes (Task Force on the Future of Journalism and Mass Communication, 1989, p. A-11).

2. Practitioners reported advertising education did not "seem alert to the implications of changes in the structure and function of the advertising industry" (ibid., p. A-12).

Since the 1989 Task Force much of the advertising education research shows a growing preference by educators and professionals for more student hands-on experience. Marra (1989), Kruckeberg (1992), Worthington (1992), and Donnelly (1993) suggested schools implement student-run advertising and public relations agencies to give students professional experience. Marra said, "the importance of large advertising agencies and their established effect on advertising course selection, student competitions, clubs, and career opportunity for entry-level graduates" is easily demonstrated (Marra, 1985, p. 12). Northwestern University implemented semester-long graduate student internships to increase experience (Caywood, 1991; Introducing a new Medill curriculum, 1990). A growing number of educators say internships provide education and experience through cooperative education programs (Van Erden, 1991; Denby, 1991; Wilcox, 1991; Hofacker, 1991) and are especially helpful to minority business and marketing students who want hands-on experience (Flannery, 1993).

Blanchard and Christ (1993) constructed a professional liberal arts media education program suggesting three curriculum components: a conceptual core, conceptual enrichment, and experiential learning to develop integrated communicators.

The transition from school to work has been a major consideration in advertising and public relations education research from the students, educators and employers' perspectives (Doerner, 1983; Radio-Television News Directors, 1987; Task Force on the Future, 1989; Ganahl & Ganahl, 1992).

Concurrent with the re-emphasis of praxis-based curriculum is the development of outcome-based student evaluation strategies (Towers, 1992). Educators, accreditors, and legislators have begun to look at mastery-learning and outcome-based curricula for new assessment strategies (Basow & Byrne, 1993; Wagner & Smith, 1991).

An outcome is defined as a demonstration of learning exhibited by the student. Assessment is accomplished via course "performances" and a graduation "exit exhibition" (Horace, 1990, p. 3-4; Erickson & Wentling, 1988).

Advertising students want their degree to qualify them as proven professionals (Ganahl, 1992). Professional education qualifies an applicant for placement via a demonstration of competence. If a graduate produces a portfolio as part of the professional curriculum, the graduate has demonstrated outcome proficiency (Paetro, 1990).

Research Methodology & Procedures

The purpose of this research was to holistically review and evaluate the curriculum structure of this Advertising Department in regards to how well it prepares students for professional employment in its primary trade zone. It researched the current hiring trends of industry and analyzed the general advertising and public relations curriculum structure.

A professional outcome-based curriculum development strategy was not identified in the literature. Occupational curriculum strategies (Finch & Crunkilton, 1989; Evans & Herr, 1978) did not meet the higher-level needs of professional outcome-based education and are met with resistance in the advertising community (Rotzoll, 1985; Schweitzer, 1988). This research developed a strategy for a holisitc curriculum review. This strategy is entitled Professional Outcome-Based Curriculum Review (PROCURR). PROCURR utilizes a two-step approach. The methods provide emergent findings with the grounded theory approach (Pauly, 1991; Strauss & Corbin, 1990; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). PROCURR follows two basic steps.

1. A thorough literature review to develop an overview of the industry, the specifically targeted education program, and

an initial list of desirable professional qualifications from the industry career literature. The literature review covered career books textbooks, and research articles (Pattis, 1991; Schwartz & Yarbrough, 1992; Cottone, 1992; Kelly, 1992; Keenan, 1992; Rose & Miller,1990; Lancaster & Martin, 1989), and faculty introspection (Shaffir & Stebbins, 1991; Jorgensen, 1989) to build a list of desirable education objectives and components, and professional outcomes.

2. Focus group interviews of professional advertising practitioners, public relations practitioners, and advertising and public relations faculty members were conducted. PROCURR focus groups use experts to identify, assess and evaluate curriculum components.

Focus group questions centered on curriculum topics which might effect the hiring process of graduates. Areas of inquiry included: (a) comparing the case study Advertising Department with other degree programs within the geographical marketplace which prepare graduates for advertising related careers; (b) the importance of program accreditation; (c) the value of a broad liberal arts education; (d) using grades to assess the value of an applicant; (e) the value of faculty advising; (f) review of present industry employment strategies.

Faculty research subjects included members of the Advertising and Public Relations Departments. Professional focus group discussants met two criteria. These criteria insured discussants would be able to assist in a holistic curriculum review.

1. Subjects must have interviewed graduates for employment within the last year.

2. Subjects had to graduate from the School of Journalism under study and be presently employed in advertising or public relations. Note: subjects did not have to be graduates from the advertising or public relations areas. These subjects had the best background to evaluate the curriculum and the graduates. Subjects graduated from the program between 1 and 25 years previously.

Professional focus group discussants were selected from the following professional areas: (a) account management, (b) creative strategy, (c) public relations, and (d) research and (e) media planning.

Data Analysis

Focus groups were conducted at the university and two major midwestern cities which are major recruiters of the program's graduates. Data from the focus groups were collected on audio tape and transcribed. These data collection methods allow comparisons among the different focus groups and within the focus groups.

As suggested by Morgan (1988) two methods were used to analyze data: (a) an ethnographic summary, and (b) a systematic coding of the data to allow for content analysis.

Summary of Findings

Assessing the Curriculum

Importance of Degrees

The advertising and public relations industry has matured into occupational professions. The public relations industry uses professional accreditation by governing organizations to accredit individuals. All of the focus group members feel it is mandatory to have at least a bachelor degree to be hired with hope of promotion. Types of degrees most sought by employers are (in alphabetic order): advertising, business, communications, graphic arts, marketing, news-editorial, and public relations.

Professional discussants feel the University should expand the professional degree program in Advertising and Public Relations to include an integrated model and extended coursework in graduate school. This suggestion addresses the demands of the marketplace (Graduate School Beckons Growing Numbers, 1994) and enhances the value of a degree. When the advertising program was founded it offered two bachelor degrees over a five-year period as a curriculum option. The professional discussants felt quality-market positioning would positively segment Advertising and Public Relations graduates from other regional and national competitors.

Alumni professionals reported they generally tried to hire students from their school first. They felt comfortable knowing how the students had been educated. Overall, they felt recent graduates were competitive with graduates from other schools in the area. The professional discussants did not report their school's recent graduates as clearly superior to other schools' graduates.

School Accreditation

Accreditation of the department does not seem to be important to the professional subjects who were interviewed. Accreditation does not appear to add significant credibility to recruit students or attract industry support. Discussants did not mention a school's accreditation as a prerequisite for employment. In fact the professional discussants did not mention accreditation until the researcher mentioned it. Professional discussants did not know if the program was or was not accredited and what organization accredited the program. Later discussion reflected the concerns of the professionals about the need for more business and marketing courses.

The faculty feel accreditation is mandatory and expected at the university level and the state government level where funding decisions are made. There was discussion from the faculty about whether the accreditation was helpful to the advertising department. The public relations program was not accredited at the time of this research.

Broad Liberal Arts Background

The question of preference and value placed by employers between a liberal arts journalism and mass communication/advertising and public relations background *versus* a business or marketing background, is an ongoing debate in the academy and the professional world. Faculty members with liberal arts education backgrounds tend to prefer a communication-theory-based approach to the advertising and public relations curriculum. Conversely, educators with business degrees tend to prefer business-theory-based curriculum. This challenge is represented in Donnelly (1992). Professional discussants (had all graduated from the School of Journalism program) say applicants need more business classes and hands-on experience, like internships. Not one professional focus group subject said, they need more liberal arts courses and background. In fact, professionals said, liberal arts courses were the least "useful" courses in their undergraduate program. This finding was completely reverse to the reactions of the faculty.

The entire faculty felt a strong liberal arts background was mandatory for a "well-educated" graduate but agreed more business courses would be helpful.

Importance of Grades

Neither faculty nor professional discussants said grades or grade point averages were very important considerations when hiring employees. Faculty members feel grades indicate other characteristics like: "discipline" and "organization" not necessarily knowledge. Overall, faculty didn't feel grades were always useful to predict industry success or failure.

When discussing grades industry professionals were more interested in assessing skill competence than grade point average. This suggests new educational evaluation measurements like professional outcome achievement might be helpful to employers. This type of evaluation more closely parallels the Public Relations accreditation process. Resnick (1987) discusses the need for high transferability of what is learned in school to what is needed on the job.

None of the professionals ever asked applicants about their grade point average or grades for specific courses.

It was becoming standard employment practice in large companies to verify the fact applicants did indeed graduate and have a degree from a particular institution.

Advising

Most professional subjects were dissatisfied with their personal educational advising when they were students.

Faculty subjects felt increasing pressure from time constraints for increased advising based on the large size of their classes and programs.

Consensus from all PROCURR subjects centered on the following student advisement needs were: (a) gaining admission into the Advertising and Public Relations Department, (b) specific course selection and area of concentration, (c) internship placement, (d) human relations within the department, school and university, (e) job interviewing, (f) employee placement, and (g) personal time with faculty members for guidance and mentoring.

Professional discussants felt the Department needs to consider the time students spend with Arts and Science advisors at the first year and sophomore levels and time they spend under Journalism advisors separately. Basically, it was felt two years were not adequate to orient the professional advertising and public relations students to their education program; student activities and organizations; industry and employment search. Student advisement strategy must consider student-to-faculty mentoring time as a separate issue from student-to-adviser time.

Generally, all discussants feel two key goals can possibly be achieved if students feel supported through better advising.

1. Students will be more successful in their studies and in job placement.

2. Graduates will be more supportive and responsive alumni with better advising.

Senior Assembly Career Course

Professionals and professors agree graduates need help to develop an employment strategy. The faculty suggested reintroducing a course directed at helping seniors plan and execute an employment search strategy. Several professionals found this career class to be helpful when they were undergraduate students at the School of Journalism.

Employment Strategy

Interview Strategy

Professional discussants revealed an increasingly competitive and intricate employment interview process. "Team interviewing," "a mandatory creative test," "mandatory internships prior to hiring," "mandatory internships with the company," "job fairs," "completion of portfolio schools," and a "more competitive industry" are all new ways that industry is trying to find the best employees. All of these new human resources screening techniques illustrate the challenges faced by advertising and public relations graduates.

A professional outcome-based education seemed ideal preparation for the interview process according to focus groups discussants. A professional curriculum needs to prepare ready-to-interview graduates who are ready-to-work. Outcomes achieved by graduates should prepare them for the style of interviews they will encounter.

Personnel Testing

Many of the professional discussants reported their company already tested applicants or were considering how to begin to test applicants. The goal of pre-testing applicants before hiring is to evaluate the level of performance an applicant is capable of under work-like conditions. This practice seems to reflect the lesser importance professionals place on grade point average and broad liberal arts education. Professionals said pre-testing applicants showed them what a graduate can "do."

Affective Outcomes

After the transcriptions of the data were analyzed a surprise finding occurred to the researcher. Research subjects were found to be describing ideal or less than ideal employment candidates by describing "positive" or "negative" personality characteristics. Employers were found to be talking about the types of people they like to hire. These "personality qualifications" are requirements in addition to professional proficiency. A table of the desirable affective behaviors follows. Descriptions were not quantified, nor ranked by importance, and all of the comments are quotes from the discussants.

Desirable Affective Behavioral Outcomes for Advertising and Public Relations Graduates

1. Possess leadership skills.
2. Show initiative.
3. Demonstrate interpersonal communication skills.
4. Show maturity.
5. Be competitive.
6. Work well with people.
7. Give a good hand shake.
8. Demonstrate hands-on experience.
9. Be persistent.
10. Build networks of business associates.
11. Apply critical thinking skills.
12. Show a passion for work.
13. Demonstrate an ability to get the job done.
14. Be on the ball.
15. Be aggressive.
16. Demonstrate personal time management.
17. Be responsible.
18. Be punctual and able to meet a deadline.
19. Confident, possess a bearing.
20. Be sociable.
21. Be result-oriented, look at outcomes.
22. Be enthusiastic.

23. Be a hard-worker.

24. Finish the job.

25. Not a quitter.

26. Be an extrovert.

27. Demonstrate attention to detail.

Present Curriculum Development Strategy

The curriculum articulation process in place within this Advertising Department is best described as "introspective curriculum development." This researcher suggests that during this informal process a faculty member reflects about their professional career or their thoughts about how to build a professional career and then make decisions about what to teach in class.

Faculty discussants gave the following reasons for their methods of teaching a course: "It (the course) has always been offered,"; "I felt it was important to offer a course,"; and "I want to teach..." Courses were not offered because: "We don't have anyone to teach,"; "No one wants to teach,"; "We don't have the budget to hire anyone."

This faculty's introspective curriculum strategy creates an educator's-interpretation-of-industry-needs curriculum orientation. This challenge is compounded when a course has to be accepted at the department, school and university level.

Professional discussants want to be involved in the curriculum development process. They liked the idea of helping an education program determine "current" desirable professional outcomes.

List of Implications from the Research

1. An extended professional curriculum should be developed which enables Advertising Public Relations graduates to achieve successful professional placement. This professional degree should be balanced across: graphic arts and design, liberal arts, science, business, marketing, psychology, advertising, public relations and news-editorial courses which lead to the attainment of specified professional outcomes.

2. A professional internship should be required as part of the professional curriculum.

3. First and second year students should be integrated into the Advertising and Public Relations extracurricular activities. Student advising by the School of Journalism should begin for pre-Journalism students at the same time. Student advising should be modeled after human relations departments and should include mentoring, course tracking, and a career course.

4. The Advertising Department and the School of Journalism should evaluate its accreditation options.

5. Advertising and Public Relations students should be encouraged to take more business and marketing courses.

6. There is a need to implement an outcome-based "professional" curriculum in the School of Journalism Advertising Department. This professional curriculum could be updated annually using PROCURR panels of advertising and public relations professionals and literature reviews.

Recommendations

The School of Journalism Advertising and Public Relations Department should consider adopting a professional outcome-based curriculum design. Based on professional assessment the professional curriculum design should include more marketing and business courses and fewer liberal arts courses.

This research suggests the following assessment and evaluation strategies might be incorporated into an outcome-based professional curriculum.

1. Professional outcome lists which have been achieved by the students during their education program could be distributed by graduates to prospective employers to underscore their professional proficiency.

2. Students should make public demonstrations of their competence (Horace, 1990) in outcome-based education. These demonstrations of knowledge, skills, and behavior should take place in front of faculty, industry representatives, and the student body prior to graduation. This exit demonstration should include an oral defense of strategy, execution, and evaluation.

A professional outcome-based practicum curriculum should prepare graduates for any type of pre-employment testing they might encounter. Graduates should be prepared to demonstrate the knowledge, skills and attitudes which are being examined in the pre-employment testing process.

3. Student advising needs to be enhanced. Develop a peer-mentoring program. Juniors and seniors could be encouraged to

serve as mentors to younger students. Relationships could be developed between upper-class students and first-year and second-year students to insure a sense of inclusion and improve student retention and academic success. Increased involvement in student clubs and activities, would orient underclass students to the curriculum. This would allow students to more fully participate as members of the School of Journalism.

Faculty did not have the opportunity and time to develop individual course plans for each student. Other universities have developed prerequisite course schedules according to professional emphasis areas. This advance curriculum planning decreases advising time.

The Placement Office could be reoriented to provide services similar to a human relations department. Services offered might include: offering a career course to seniors, assisting with personality typing, interest profiles, internship placement and monitoring, and employment opportunities.

Further Research

There are several areas identified which need to be more fully researched. Questions that should be addressed in future research efforts include:

1. What are the professional outcomes that should be included in specialties within advertising and public relations occupational clusters?

2. How do you measure competence?

3. What research methods should be incorporated to enhance the PROCURR curriculum development strategy?

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Identifying Critical Teamwork Tools: One Way to Strike a Balance Between Team Training and Course Content

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Identifying Critical Teamwork Tools: One Way to Strike a Balance Between Team Training and Course Content

Abstract

Teamwork is playing an increasingly important role in business and the classroom. Educators need to find ways to include team training in courses without sacrificing other content. This paper addresses that issue. The literature on collaborative learning is reviewed to provide a pedagogical framework. The paper then describes teamwork tools presented to graduate students at a required weekend seminar. The journals kept during a subsequent team project were analyzed to identify the tools students found most essential. That identification can help educators focus on a manageable number of tools which can be incorporated into a course without significantly affecting other content.

Identifying Critical Teamwork Tools: One Way to Strike a Balance Between Team Training and Course Content

Introduction

Teamwork has become an essential part of most business operations. As Gasen and Preece have observed, "project teams are increasingly becoming the norm in a global, technologically-driven world" (1995-96, p. 381). While such team efforts have always been a critical part of the advertising business, they have become even more important with the advent of integrated marketing communications which requires a wide variety of functional areas to work closely together to create the communications program. Indeed, Duncan and Moriarty have recently called teamwork the "head and heart of integrated marketing communications" (1997, p. 187).

Of course, teamwork is important to advertising educators not only because of its role in business, but also because of its educational value. Hundreds of studies have repeatedly demonstrated that working together to reach a common goal produces higher achievement and greater productivity in the classroom than working alone (Astin, 1993; Dansereau, 1983, Sharan and Sharan, 1992; Sharan and Shoulov, 1990; Slavin, 1990 and 1983).

Although being able to work effectively in teams can contribute to success in both business and the classroom, most college students lack even the most basic team skills. As Samuelson (1995, p. 75) notes, it is a strategic error to assume that "because students are post-secondary adults they know how to be contributing group members and how to operate in a group investigation." Beard has also pointedly observed that "students frequently reach the advertising campaigns course lacking the (necessary) interpersonal and groupwork skills" (1997, p.57). Consequently, Beard, Samuelson and numerous others (e.g.. Bosworth, 1994; Lyman 1995; and Slavin, 1990) have called for courses to provide training in the skills needed for groupwork.

As Millis, Lyman, and Davidson (1995) have pointed out, instructors need techniques for teaching those skills. An even more pressing concern, as Ventimiglia notes, is time (1994). If educators are to incorporate such training into their courses without sacrificing other content, they only have time to present the most essential teamwork tools. But there's been little discussion of which are the most critical. This study addresses both concerns. It first describes a variety of interpersonal and communication skills and processes that were presented at a weekend seminar provided for new graduate students in the University of Colorado's Integrated Marketing Communications program. The journals kept during a subsequent team project were then analyzed to identify the tools students found to be the most valuable. That identification can help educators focus on a manageable number of tools which can be more easily incorporated into a course.

Literature review

The use of teams in educational settings has been examined primarily in the context of collaborative learning. The literature suggests that successful group experiences depend in large part on the students' acquisition of essential interpersonal and communication skills, and on the structure designed by the instructor.

The main keys to that structure, as Ventimiglia (1994) has observed, are the composition of the team and the way in which the work is assessed. Rather than allowing students to choose their own teammates, Ventimiglia suggests assigning students to teams in order to create diverse groups. Research shows that groups in which students' personalities, experiences, cultures, genders and skill levels differ function better than more homogenous ones (Aronson et. al, 1978; Johnson and Johnson, 1994, Slavin, 1990;).

Assessment is an equally important part of the structure created by the professor. As Slavin and others have pointed out, when students are assessed in terms of both the group's work and individual accomplishment they achieve significantly more than when only of those elements is measured (Cohen, 1994; Johnson, Johnson, and Smith 1991; Sharan and Sharan, 1992; Slavin, 1990). Furthermore, Azwell (1995) and Furtwengler (1995) have developed a variety of assessment tools including forms for student evaluations of self and team, rubrics for the assessment of team projects and learning logs in which students describe their out of class activities and work products.

Effective teamwork, of course, also depends on the way group members interact with one another. As Slavin (1990), Johnson and Johnson (1994), and Bosworth (1994), among others, have suggested, successful groupwork requires above all that students have strong communication and conflict management skills.

The communication area is generally divided into sending and receiving abilities. To communicate their ideas clearly, Johnson and Johnson (1994, pp. 152 - 154) indicate that students need to (1) speak concisely yet clearly and completely; (2) own their thoughts and feelings by using personal pronouns rather than such vague phrases as "most people say;" and (3) make verbal and non verbal messages congruent. Listening or receiving skills require students to (1) listen without evaluating what's being said; (2) paraphrase what's being said in order to make sure the message is being received accurately; (3) ask non-judgmental questions to clarify the meaning; and (4) criticize when necessary by focusing on the idea rather than the person.

Such communication skills can help reduce disagreements but conflict will still occur and students must be able to deal with it. As Helms and Haynes (1990-91) have noted, coping with conflict begins with the recognition that conflict is not necessarily bad, for it can lead to a broader range of ideas and opinions. Once team members realize that disagreement and clashes are a normal part of the group process, they relax and are able to deal with the issue more easily.

The key, of course, is in making the conflict constructive for the team rather than something to be endured. A wide variety of educators have identified the key skills necessary to manage conflicts constructively and have described numerous exercises for teaching those skills. Adams and

Hamm (1990) and Johnson and Johnson (1994), for example, suggest that students must learn to (1) first describe the problem clearly rather than judging it; (2) define the conflict as a mutual problem rather than a win-lose situation; (3) identify alternate approaches or behaviors; (4) use the first person "I" when speaking rather than the second person "you" in order to avoid directly blaming another person; and (5) criticize ideas or behavior but not the person.

As Gerlach (1994) has noted, most of the discussions of the team skills and processes necessary for collaborative learning have focused on the elementary school classroom. So the suggested training exercises are often inappropriate for college level students. Recently, Beard's (1997) important study which describes ways of preparing college students for the advertising campaigns course has provided both important insights and a range of useful exercises. Unlike Beard's work which addressed a number of areas from forming group cohesiveness to group goal setting and brainstorming, this study focuses only on the communication and interpersonal skills and processes which may well be teamwork's most basic building block. More importantly, perhaps, this study also seeks to identify some of the most essential teamwork tools by analyzing journals which describe each student's team experience and comment on how the team tools studied in class influenced that experience.

A four step approach

As Samuelson (1995) and Cohen (1994) have noted, it's an error to assume that post secondary adults will know how to work effectively as part of a team. The 15 graduate students entering the University of Colorado's

Integrated Marketing Communications program had an average of 3.5 years of work experience after college. Nonetheless, when interviewed at the beginning of their first semester, they still showed little awareness of the communication and interpersonal tools needed for effective teamwork. Consequently, team training was incorporated into the IMC Principles and Practices course that is required of all entering graduate students. This study describes that training and the student response to it.

The process involved four steps: (1) The students were required to attend a weekend training seminar where they were introduced to a variety of interpersonal and communication tools that can help a team function more effectively. (2) During the first seven weeks of class, in addition to their individual assignments, students were also asked to work in five person teams to create a teamwork model. That model would be based on the seminar materials and on the students' previous team experiences. (3) Each team applied its model to the final team project which required the students to develop an integrated communications program for a local communications business. (4) Each student was also required to keep a journal in which he or she described the team's experiences during the final project, and reflected on how the tools presented at the seminar and incorporated into the model influenced those experiences. The journal counted for one third of the final project grade.

At the end of the semester the students turned in their journals. To determine which tools the students felt had been most useful, each author first analyzed the journals independently using the constant comparative method (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). To help determine patterns in the text, journal descriptions of the use of specific tools was identified and each reference was coded according to who had written it and whether it was positive or negative. Descriptions were compared both within teams and, more importantly, between teams to identify emerging patterns and themes. Once each author had complete this process, findings were compared. there was as a high level of inter-coder agreement with both authors identifying similar attitudinal and usage patterns. The critical incidents which revealed the most about these patterns were then selected as exemplars of the textual themes.

The training seminar

The seminar lasted for a day and a half and was held at a retreat center. It was led by one of the authors and a corporate trainer who works almost exclusively with national advertising agencies and who has completed an intensive program in "coaching." The trainer explained to the students that the seminar was based on the principle that team performance equals capacity minus interference. Interference generally results from the tensions and conflicts caused by poor interpersonal and communication skills. The seminar, then, focused on those areas in order to help students enhance team performance.

Three topics were explored in detail: (1) the theory of personality types and its use in team settings; (2) the communication skills that can enhance team performance; and (3) the tools needed to express criticism appropriately and publicly acknowledge conflicts.

Personality types. Good communication not only depends on understanding others but also on understanding oneself and how one relates to others and the world. To help facilitate such understanding, the Myers-Briggs theory of personality types was explained. Students were then given a highly simplified personality inventory developed by Windstar which could be administered and scored in about 30 minutes. The inventory results in four different types which are easier for students to understand and use than the 16 described by Myers-Briggs. The trainer explained the basic orientation of each type together with its assets and liabilities especially in team and business settings.

A number of exercises were used to help the students relate the theory of personality types to effective teamwork. For example, the students were asked to develop three tips that might make working with each type easier. Another exercise asked students to develop guidelines to address the weaknesses of a team consisting of two Souths (empathetic types who put people first, want to help others even when they don't have time, often take others' statements at face value, and who place heavy emphasis on emotion and intuition) and two Easts (visionaries who explore possibilities, focus on the future, value options and the big picture over details, and often find that reality isn't as attractive as the vision).

Aggressive listening. The trainer explained and then had the workshop participants practice the fundamentals of effective listening. In an exercise similar to one developed by Sharan and Sharan (1990, pp. 28-29), students were put in five person teams and given a topic to discuss. To practice clarity and conciseness, each person was asked to take no more than 20 seconds to make a point. After the first person spoke, there was a ten second pause while the next speaker considered what had been said, then that person paraphrased the previous comments and asked if the paraphrase properly reflected the speaker's idea. If it didn't, questions were asked to help clarify the meaning. Only after making sure that the first speaker had been understood, did the second person share an idea.

Often, of course, what is literally said may not always be what is actually meant. So students were encouraged to listen aggressively for unspoken concerns and to understand the need that lies beneath what the person is saying. Awareness of the speaker's personality type can often contribute to such understanding. Students practiced listening underneath the voice through scripted role plays. The listener was only given a description of the speaker's character and type. The speaker was given that information together with an underlying need and a series of talking points which would help suggest that need. The listener then attempted to hear what the speaker was really saying.

Conflict and breakdowns. Students first considered steps that could be taken to help reduce conflicts. Tensions often arise over misunderstandings about what is expected in terms of either behavior or work product. Setting clear conditions of satisfaction for project goals, group behavior and project quality can help eliminate such conflicts.

To emphasize the importance of setting clear, measurable goals an exercise very much like that described by Beard (1997, p. 59) was used. Groups were first asked to perform a vague, poorly described task and then were given a very clear task to do. Students compared the difficulties they had in the first instance with the ease with which they accomplished the second assignment. Role plays were also used to demonstrate the problems that can arise when there are no clear standards for acceptable group behavior.

To remember the issues around which conditions of satisfaction need to be established, students were told to use the reporter's who, what, where, when, why and how: (1) How do we want to work together? (2) Why are we doing this project personally and professionally? (3) What quality standards should each project task meet? (4) When does each task need to be completed? (5) Who will perform each task? (6) Where will the project be presented and to whom? The students noted that they were used to answering the "when," "who" and "where" questions but most of them had not previously been on teams that asked "how," "why" and "what."

While steps can be taken to reduce conflicts and prevent the need for criticism, nonetheless problems will occur. Indeed, the trainers explained in detail that criticism and conflict are not only normal parts of the group process but can be highly productive and often lead to stronger teams. Although teams often try to ignore a problem, it must be publicly identified if teams are to move beyond it. Because it is not easy to call attention to problem behavior, the trainers suggested that each team have a behavior checker who has the power to point out behavior that is inconsistent with the team's standards. Team members are generally willing to cooperate with the behavior checker, because the role is rotated and each person knows that he or she will have that duty some time in the future.

Being willing to publicly acknowledge a problem and offer necessary criticism can be a team-building "power move," but only if the feedback is given properly. A four step model similar to that described by Adams and Hamm (1990) and Johnson and Johnson (1994) was provided to help students offer effective feedback: (1) the person providing the feedback should seek to understand why the offending party is acting in a certain manner; (2) the feedback should be kept in the first person so that it comes across as an opinion rather than as a fact and sounds less like blaming; (3) the speaker should provide a reason for offering the feedback (e.g.. to help the team make a deadline); and (4) the speaker should give an example of a more acceptable form of behavior. For instance a group member might say, "I feel it would help our team use its time more wisely, if you talked about your social life only during the initial group check-in."

To practice giving feedback, students were divided into five person teams. Each team was given a problem to solve. Each member of the team also drew a card giving him or her a particular role: leader, reporter, observer of behavior, disrupter and behavior checker. At the end of the exercise students discussed the manner in which the feedback was given and received. The exercise was repeated several times so that each student would have a chance to correct behavior and be corrected.

Evaluating the seminar's tools

While the models developed by each team made use of all of the tools presented at the weekend seminar, analysis of the students' journals suggests that three were used extensively and seen to be of real value.

The personality inventory. The personality inventory was the one tool used by the largest majority of students and the one that was used in the most varied ways. All three groups used the inventory to assess their team's strengths and weaknesses and then created behavioral guidelines or processes to help address the weaknesses. One student noted in her journal that "in discussing the personalities on our team, we noticed that while the majority were imaginative and high-spirited, we also tended to be unfocused and go off on tangents. So we decided to try and address some of those issues by establishing a bunch of administrative procedures." Those procedures required the leader to have an agenda for each meeting with a clearly stated goal for that session. Each agenda item would be timed and a time keeper would be appointed at every meeting. Another member would be given the job of making sure the group stayed on task.

A majority of the students also noted in their journals that the personality inventory had either helped them value a teammate that they would otherwise have discounted or had helped them understand why a teammate was behaving objectionably and that, in turn, helped moderate their reaction. For example, one student noted towards the end of his journal that "I usually get pretty P.O'd. at people like ____ because they always put people first and the job second. But today I realized that ___ has really helped us stick together so we could do the kind of job I thought we should. Probably the reason it dawned on me is for the last four weeks at the start of every meeting we'd go over the *special* things each type of person had to offer and then somebody would give an example."

Conditions of satisfaction. All three teams had conditions of satisfaction that described "how we want to work together" and "what quality standards the project should meet." But the student journals indicate that only the behavioral guidelines proved useful. Those guidelines were remarkably similar for each team and were also highly specific. For example, one team called for members to "attend all meetings and be on time; listen to other people's ideas without criticizing or interrupting; meet deadlines; promptly acknowledge conflict; and provide constructive feedback." Almost all of the journals suggest that by reminding members exactly how they were expected to act, the guidelines helped keep tension low. As one student wrote, "we were talking about how we're over halfway done and we're all still getting along. Pretty amazing. I think it's because we all know what's expected. So you don't accidentally piss somebody off the way I've done on other teams."

But the highly specific conditions of satisfaction also helped reduce tension because they made criticism easier to accept. "I was so proud of Nell today," one student wrote. "She harshed on ____ but in a nice way. And ____ was really great about it. Of course, it's hard to complain when you break your own rule." As a student on another team wrote, " on this team when somebody says you're messing up, it doesn't seem personal. It's more like a team thing because we all agreed on the rules."

The conditions of satisfaction for project quality were as vague as those for behavior were specific. One team, for example, called for the project to be "an outstanding piece of work that utilized the best abilities of each team member," while another called for "a superior work product whose excellence would be immediately apparent." The journals suggest that this vagueness encouraged conflicts, because each student judged work according to his or her own standards. One journal entry in particular captured the problem in detail: "We had a really upsetting meeting today. When ___ brought in her section it was clearly too long. I told her the client wouldn't read it if we didn't cut it. She got really upset and said she thought we needed a lot of details to convince the client and why did I think I was so right. Things just got worse until the meeting ground to a halt with nothing decided. Tim called a few minutes ago and said he thought the real problem was that we'd never decided what the section should be like. I think he hit the nail on the head. So I called ___ and told her that and I think she feels better. We agreed before we do any rewriting we'll get the whole team to set detailed conditions of satisfaction at tomorrow's meeting. At least we were able to talk about it and get the project moving again thanks to Tim's insight. I learned something today. You can't just say make it good. You've really got to say what good is." Although the students did not find the conditions of satisfaction for project quality useful, they would have found them useful, as these comments suggest, had they created more specific standards.

The formula for feedback. The majority of students valued the feedback formula, because it allowed them to express their feelings in a constructive way, and also made it more likely that their criticism would be accepted or at least heard without increasing tension. One student commented that "I usually won't criticise (sic) somebody because I don't want to bring them down or make them mad. But with this feedback stuff criticism doesn't really feel like criticism. It just seems like a way of helping us all do a better job."

Another student was clearly impressed with how well a teammate used the formula. Her description gives a real sense of the way students employed it and suggests that its use helped criticism be accepted: "Thank God Kay said something to ____ about his trashing everybody's ideas. Somebody had to if we were ever going to get anywhere, because we were having a real breakdown and nobody wanted to admit it. But I'm not sure I could've done it like she did. She kind of complimented him about how she knew he wanted the project to be perfect and she did, too. But she thought we had a better chance of doing good work if we let people say their ideas without us attacking them and then built off them. And ___ agreed. Incredible. It was so cool now I wish I'd said something." The journal writer clearly suggests that the group was a bit afraid of how the student who was criticized would react to such criticism. But by understanding why the student was so critical and then appealing to his desire to do good work, the speaker was able to avoid the expected angry outburst and get him to respond positively to the feedback.

Discussion

As Gerlach (1994) has noted, faculty must set a context for collaborative work that emphasizes its importance and enables students to come to see its value. Offering the seminar on the weekend helped provide such a context and suggested that team tools were considered so important that the instructor was not only asking students to give up their weekend but was willing to give up his own as well. Because it occurred outside of regular class period, the seminar also offered a way to provide team training without sacrificing course content.

While it was expected that students would object to giving up their weekend, that proved not to be the case. In fact, most students were enthusiastic and later said their enthusiasm was partly due to their recognizing the need to improve their team skills. But the students were also enthusiastic because the workshop was being held in a retreat center and was being led by a corporate trainer which made the seminar feel "more like the real world and less like school." Nor was it difficult to find a corporate trainer who would donate the sessions. In fact, several volunteered because they thought it would be interesting to work with students and compare their responses to those of working adults.

Admittedly, undergraduate students might be more reluctant to give up a weekend. But identifying critical team tools also enables team training to be incorporated into a course without its greatly impacting content. In fact, this study helped one of the authors identify a few essential tools which were then presented during the regularly scheduled classes of his undergraduate Advertising Campaigns course. Because only a limited number of tools were introduced, the training sessions did not take a significant amount of time away from the course's traditional content.

The journal entries make it clear that the students found the descriptions of the four personality types and the conditions of satisfaction for team behavior critical tools. Students would also have found the conditions of satisfaction for project quality valuable, had they established more precise standards. Their failure to do so suggests that more time should have been devoted to this matter in the seminar. It would probably have also been helpful if the instructor had given students an example of a previous project that had received an A and one that had received a B. Pointing out the differences between the two would, perhaps, have helped students establish more specific quality standards.

But of all the material presented at the seminar, the discussion of negative feedback may have had the most profound impact. The students repeatedly indicated that by pointing out that conflict and criticism were not only normal parts of the group process but could also lead to a stronger team, the seminar had encouraged them to express concerns that on past teams many had chosen to repress. As the journals suggest, if teams are to function smoothly, it is not enough just to show students how to give negative feedback. Educators must also give them permission to do so.

This study not only describes techniques for teaching a variety of team tools but also identifies those tools which students found most useful. That can help educators who constantly face the tension of balancing team training with more traditional course content. Of course, this study employs a very small sample. So at best its findings are suggestive.

In the future it would be helpful to use a much broader sample and to explore in a more rigorous way student responses to an even wider array of team tools. Nonetheless, this study can be of value to educators, because it identifies a manageable number of essential team tools which can then be incorporated into a course with relative ease.

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Assessing advertising effectiveness:

A comparison of two real-time measures of ad liking

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(Abstract)

This paper uses a quasi-experimental approach to examine two real-time measures of ad liking and their relationships with delayed consumer responses such as delayed ad liking, recall and recognition of brand names. The two real-time measures were mean liking and peak liking, which were collected on a moment-to-moment basis while subjects were viewing the television commercials. The delayed responses were collected more than 24 hours after respondents viewed the ads in natural environments. Results of the data analyses indicated that both measures of ad liking were positively related to delayed consumer responses. However, after controlling product categories and ad length, peak liking was a more effective predictor of delayed ad liking and memory of brand names. These findings have several implications for both researchers and practitioners.

Assessing advertising effectiveness:

A comparison of two real-time measures of ad liking

The role of ad liking in predicting consumer responses toward commercials has been well researched in the past. Evidence from the research literature lent strong support for its use as an effective predictor of both cognitive and behavioral responses toward television commercials. In a seminal review of ad liking, Thorson (1991) concluded that ad liking predicted brand liking beyond the impact of prior brand attitude. Similarly, Spaeth, Hess, and Tang (1990) concluded that ad liking was an effective predictor of sales objectives for the advertised brands.

As an important component of ad attitude, ad liking has traditionally been measured using questionnaires. In recent years, however, a new real-time measure has become increasingly popular. Also known as the continuous audience response system, the real-time measure gauges audience's responses to commercials on a second by second basis. The advertising research literature is replete with studies using the real-time measure. Researchers, for example, have used it to study human processing of political advertising (Biocca, 1991), product advertising (e.g. Hughes, 1992; Thorson & Reeves, 1985; Thorson, Reeves, Schleuder, Lang & Rothschild, 1985), and public service announcements (Biocca et al., 1996).

Because the real-time measure provides data over time, researchers traditionally have taken either the average or the peak evaluative scores as reflecting audience responses to the stimulus materials (see Figure 1). Thorson and Reeves (1985) used mean liking collected while subjects viewed commercials to predict commercial memory. Other have suggested that peak liking represent the most meaningful moments in audience responses (Biocca et al., 1994; Rust, 1985). *USA Today* has been using peak liking to rank commercials in its annual rating of Super Bowl advertising, and the rankings have been found to be highly correlated with delayed ad attitude and delayed brand memory (Zhao et al., 1993).

Despite the use of both mean liking and peak liking in predicting advertising effectiveness, the two measures reflect two different types of consumer processing of commercials with different implications for both researchers and practitioners. Unfortunately, no researchers have compared the robustness of the two measures in advertising research. The present study thus seeks to: 1) examine the relationship between real-time ad liking and delayed responses; 2) compare the efficacy of mean and peak liking in predicting delayed ad liking and brand memory.

Literature Review and Hypotheses

The concept of measuring audience responses toward stimulus information on a moment-to-moment basis was first developed by researchers to examine responses to motion pictures and radio programs in the 1940s (Millard, 1992). Later, different variants of the instrument were produced and were used primarily by media and advertising agencies to rate movies and commercials. In recent years, as computer technology has permitted faster access to data collection, the measures have attracted renewed interest in the research community (Biocca, et al., 1994; Fenwick & Rice, 1991; Hughes, 1991; Millard, 1992).

Today's typical real-time measurement systems comprise a set of electronic devices designed to allow audience members to signal on a continuous basis what they think of a program, in terms of liking or disliking or some other evaluative criteria. The responses are then fed into a microcomputer for analysis, and, in most cases, a VCR can display a combination of continuous curves and digital averages for subgroups and superimpose these data summaries over a stimulus tape (Biocca et al., 1994; Hughes, 1991).

As the real-time measure collects data every second, a 30-second commercial, for example, will be measured by about 30 data points. Experiments of an hour or longer will yield an enormous amount of data. There are various ways to go about analyzing data gathered continuously. Researchers could analyze the data by identifying differences between groups or between stimulus messages. They could also visually inspect the significantly high or low data points to identify underlying message factors that might account for these significant points. Depending on particular research questions, data points can also be collapsed into message units, providing summary statistics (Biocca et al., 1994).

One of the primary applications of immediate measures has been in the study of audience responses toward advertising messages. Researchers have used them to study the effect of liking on commercial memory and product sales (Spaeth et al., 1990; Thorson & Reeves, 1985; Zhao et al., 1993), the role of program context on memory for commercials (Thorson et al. 1985), reliability in copy-testing (Fenwick & Rice, 1991), and advertisement wear-out (Hughes, 1992). The use of real-time measures of audience responses to commercials is not just limited to academic research. Media organizations such as *USA Today* and CBS, and advertising agencies like McCann-Erickson and Young and Rubicam have all used the measure for research purposes (Biocca et al., 1994, Millard, 1992; Zhao et al., 1993).

To derive hypotheses regarding the effects of real-time ad liking, it is necessary to review previous findings on both ad liking and ad attitude. Many studies have explored the relationship between ad attitude and brand attitude (see Brown & Stayman, 1992; Muehling & McCann, 1993). Shimp (1981) was the first to propose that ad attitude was linearly related to brand attitude such that the more positive consumers' reactions were to the ad, the more positive were their reactions to the brand. The assumption was that reactions to the ad generalized to the brand, perhaps through some conditioning process (Gorn, 1982). Laczniak and Carlson (1989) also found a strong relationship between ad attitude and brand attitude for both knowledgeable and less knowledgeable individuals. Moore and Hutchinson (1983, 1985) reasoned that a two-day and seven-day delay had differential effects on ad attitude and brand attitude.

These past studies on ad attitude have largely been restricted to situations in which subjects are exposed to ads and then asked to recall or express their opinions of the ads shortly afterward. In such situations, the ads are very likely to be salient in memory and therefore, highly accessible for recall and evaluations. Given this, it is not surprising that most studies have found strong support for the view that better-liked ads lead to more positive evaluations of the advertised brands (MacKenzie, Lutz & Belch, 1986; Mitchell, 1986).

More recently, however, Chattopadhyay and Nedungadi (1990, 1992) provided some empirical evidence on the endurance of ad attitude. The authors conducted experiments on the moderating effect of delay and attention on ad attitude. They found that ad attitude remained strong after a week's delay when subjects paid higher attention. In short, there is ample evidence in the advertising research literature supporting the notion that better liked ads lead to more positive attitudes toward the advertised brands (MacKenzie et al., 1986; Mitchell, 1986).

Since delayed liking for ads in the present study was measured after a delay of 24-72 hours rather than a week, it is reasonable to assume that affective responses would remain relatively salient and accessible in memory. Therefore it is hypothesized here that real-time ad liking will have a positive relationship with delayed ad liking.

H1. Real-time ad liking is positively related to delayed ad liking.

Several studies tracked the relationship between ad liking and memory of ads or brand names. Walker and Dubitsky (1994) analyzed data from syndicated copytesting procedures and tested the effect of liking on attention and delayed recall. They found that in naturalistic viewing environments, ads that were liked better were more likely to be attended to and remembered. This confirmed previous findings by Zinkhan et al. (1986), who explored the relationship between memory dimensions and a set of predictors including involvement and attitude toward the brand in print ads. The authors found that both brand name recall and recognition were positively related to ad attitude and brand attitude.

The recurring topic related to the effect of ad attitude on advertising effectiveness is the former's impact on purchase intention. There is considerable evidence to suggest that individuals' attitudes toward an ad had a direct effect on purchase intention (Brown

& Stayman, 1992; Lutz et al., 1983; Muehling & McCann, 1993). More recently, Spaeth et al.(1990) reported the commercials that were liked better performed better in the actual achievement of the advertiser's sales objectives. This conclusion was further confirmed in a review article by Thorson (1991) who concluded that ad likability was an important determinant of ad impact regardless of the involvement level of the product or the viewing situation. However, research on the effects of ad attitude or ad liking on brand memory is lacking.

Evidence from other research areas indicated memory could also be affected by evaluative judgment (Lichtenstein & Srull, 1985). Memory is an indictor of advertising effectiveness, and both recall and recognition have been empirically proven to be dependable in measuring memory of commercials and brands (du Plessis, 1994). It is therefore expected that positive reactions to ads will lead to better recall and recognition scores. This leads to the second hypothesis:

H2. Real-time liking is positively related to delayed brand memory.

Both mean liking and peak liking are derived from the same real-time moment-to-moment response data. Mean liking represents the average real-time liking score for a commercial over its full length. It is the mean of a series of data points that have been averaged across all subjects and thus reflects global evaluations of the ad on a second by second basis. Peak liking is the significant peak moment in the same series of data points for a commercial.

Within advertising and communication, both peak liking and mean liking have been used to measure audience's immediate responses to stimulus material. For example, researchers have demonstrated that peaks in a continuous response may reflect significant moments in the stimuli that will lead to an unusual change in cognitive state (Biocca et al., 1994). Peak scores can also account for a significant amount of variance in memory of commercials. Media organizations such as *USA Today* has been using peak liking to rank Super Bowl commercials since 1989. The measure was found to be able to accurately predict delayed brand memory (Zhao et al., 1993).

As a global mean score for one commercial, mean liking is neither the peak point nor the low point. Instead it is thought to reflect the overall rating of a commercial. Using mean liking as a global response to an ad is consistent with the theory of information integration, especially its averaging model (Anderson, 1981; Eagley & Chaiken, 1993). The model posited that consumers formed attitudes toward products by averaging different pieces of information. Mean liking is an average of responses to different segments of a commercial, and is expected to better reflect audiences' overall attitudes.

The reliability of mean liking and its positive effect on advertising effectiveness has been substantiated by several researchers (see Spaeth et al., 1990; Thorson & Reeves, 1985; Thorson et al., 1985). Thorson and Reeves (1985) found there were positive retroactive and proactive relations between memory and mean liking of program contexts. Spaeth et al. (1990) found that mean liking of commercials was highly correlated with overall liking of commercials and their sales effectiveness. It is thus expected that in the present study mean liking is a more reliable measure of attitude toward the ad and subsequently more predictive of both delayed ad liking and recall and recognition of advertised brands in competitive advertising environments.

It is thus clear that mean liking has received considerable support within the ad research literature, whereas the effectiveness of peak liking has been less definitive. In view of that, two hypotheses are thus formulated:

> **H3. Mean liking of ads is a better predictor of delayed ad liking than peak liking.**
>
> **H4. Mean liking of ads is a better predictor of delayed brand memory than peak liking.**

Method

To test the hypotheses presented here, we collected data during and shortly after the annual Super Bowl games from 1994 through 1996. In accordance with research practice involving quasi-experimental method, the data were aggregated according to brands for the final analysis (see Spaeth et al., 1990; Walker & Dubitsky, 1994).

Subjects. Data on real-time liking of Super Bowl commercials were collected in three different cities in the United States over a three-year period: Portland, Oregon, in 1994; Orlando, Florida in 1995 and Charlotte, North Carolina in 1996. In each of the three years, we randomly selected 60 local adult volunteers to participate in the annual ranking of Super Bowl commercials. Researchers contacted potential participants by telephone first and then asked those willing to participate to go a central location to rate commercials during the Super Bowl game. Subjects who later participated in the studies were adults and were paid 20 to 25 dollars for their participation.

Apparatus. The stimulus materials for the immediate measures were all the commercials aired during each Super Bowl game. Viewing took place in an auditorium with a television set placed at the front. Each subject was provided with an audience response dial so that they could provide continuous input while watching the Super Bowl commercials.

Procedures. Upon arrival, subjects were seated and informed about the purpose of the study. The experimenter then demonstrated how the audience response system worked. Subjects were told to provide demographic data such as gender, race and age. They were then instructed to indicate how much they liked the television commercials they were watching by turning the continuous dials as fast and as frequently as they wanted on a scale of 1 to 7. A score of 4 indicated neutral liking with 1 being the lowest and 7 the highest liking score. The 7-point scale was later linearly transformed into a 0-10 scale in the final data analysis. Each viewing of the whole game took about two hours.

Subjects were asked to evaluate commercials only. Each evaluation session began with the kickoff of the Super Bowl game and stopped at the end of the fourth quarter. No pregame and postgame commercials were included in the evaluation. At the end of each session, subjects were debriefed and dismissed.

Survey Samples. To gauge the effectiveness of the same Super Bowl ads evaluated, post-game telephone surveys were conducted from 1994 to 1996. Students enrolled in an introductory advertising research class at a major southeastern state university used random digit dialing to call local residents within 24 to 72 hours after each Super Bowl game. Only those who were at least 18 years and who watched at least part of the game were interviewed.

The majority of the people contacted for the interview reported having watched the game. In 1994, a total of 547 adults were contacted and of those, 354 (64.7%) reported watching at least part of the Super Bowl game. In 1995, 296 out of 532 (55.6%)

contacted reported watching at least part of the game. In 1996, the number of respondents who watched at least part of the game was 370, out of a total of 601 residents contacted (61.6%). The high ratings mean that the Super Bowl game was more than a regular sporting event and that it attracted a fairly broad range of audiences.

Survey Procedures. In conducting the surveys, student interviewers first asked the person who answered the phone for someone in the household who was at least 18 years old and who had watched at least part of the Super Bowl game. Those who watched any quarters of the game were then asked to list all the commercials they remembered seeing during those parts of the game. This provided the recall measure. After that, they were given a list of brands within certain product categories. The list of brands was compiled when researchers were watching the game and was cross-verified via video tapes. For a given brand, respondents were asked whether they remembered seeing its commercials during the Super Bowl. This measured delayed brand recognition. Interviewers emphasized to the respondents that the brand may or may not have been advertised. If the respondents reported seeing a brand advertised, they were asked how much they liked the ad according to a 7-point Likert scale, which provides the delayed liking for a brand's commercials.

Measurements. The real-time audience response system provided two scores for each advertisement: mean liking and peak liking. To obtain scores for the two measures, the second-by-second responses to commercials were averaged across all participants. Subjects initially used the hand-held dial and provided responses on a 7-point scale. The data were later linearly transformed into a 0-10 scale in the final analysis.

Mean liking was then obtained by taking the mean of audience responses to a brand's commercial(s) over time. Peak liking is simply the highest point in the mean series for a brand's commercial(s). Figure 1 illustrates the difference between the peak liking and mean liking.

Delayed Ad Liking. Delayed ad liking was measured by using the percentage of viewers who liked or disliked a brand's commercials they saw during the Super Bowl. In the post-game surveys, interviewers contacted a group of randomly-selected viewers. For those who reported having seen any part of the game, the interviewer would provide a list of brands and asked if they remembered seeing ads for a particular brand. Those who reported seeing a certain brand's ads were then asked how much they liked the commercial, using a 7-point Likert scale (1=the ad was one of the best, 2=nearly as good as the best, 3=above average, 4=average, 5=below average, 6=nearly as bad as the worst, 7=one of the worst ads). The questionnaire used comparative wording similar to that in the ARF copy tests, which asked whether an ad was one of the best recently seen (Haley & Baldinger, 1991). This liking score was then inverted and linearly transformed into a 0-10 scale where 0 represents the lowest and 10 the highest liking scores. To differentiate this liking from the real-time ad liking, this measure is called delayed ad liking.

Delayed Brand Memory. Brand memory has two separate components: recall and recognition. Recall was measured by counting the total number of viewers who remembered seeing a particular brand's commercials advertised during the Super Bowl game. This was a free recall measure.

To obtain recognition scores, all the advertised brands were grouped according to seven categories: entertainment, service, auto-related products, shoes and clothes, health and beauty products, household products, and food and beverage. Interviewers read the list of brand names in each category and asked respondents whether they remembered seeing commercials for the brands aired during the Super Bowl. Recognition in this study was essentially an aided recall measure with the cueing materials being product categories and brand names.

To reduce the potential inflation of the recognition score, a false alarm test was included whereby one unadvertised brand was inserted in each product category. The correction rate in the false alarm test was used to weight the average number of actual viewers.

Length. Length is the total air time for a brand's commercials during each Super Bowl game. It covers both repetition and exposure time for individual ads. All the Super Bowls ads shown were taped and their exposure time and repetition recorded. Therefore, the length for a product would be 60 seconds, if it had two 30-second commercials shown during each game.

All the commercials were coded into two categories, short and long commercials. Short ads were defined here as having 30 seconds in length, whereas long ads are those with 45 seconds or more air time during each game. Length was thus a dichotomous variable (short ads=0, long ads=1), and was used in the analysis as a control variable to test the hypotheses. There were altogether 45 short ads and 52 long ads in the data set.

Year. The year in which the data were collected may be a confounding factor and therefore it was used as a control variable in the analysis. Each year had a different game, a different list of advertisements, a different class of student interviewers and a different sample of viewers. Each year, data on real-time liking were collected in different parts of the country with different participants. To address such concerns, two dummy variables were created to represent the year as the discrete variable. The dummies were controlled in regression analyses.

Product Category. Another variable that was controlled in the analysis is Product Category. Advertisements and brands for certain product categories might be more easily remembered/liked than others (see Biel & Bridgwater, 1990; Spaeth et al., 1990). Some of the products had more air time than others during the Super Bowl. To control for the potential differences caused by product category, all products were coded into the following seven categories: (1) entertainment, (2) services, (3) automobiles, (4) shoes and clothes, (5) medicine and personal care products, (6) household items, and (7) food and beverages. They were represented by six dummy variables with entertainment as the reference group.

Analyses and Results

The data collected from 1994 through 1996 were aggregated first. Simple regression analyses were then run to identify the bivariate correlation among all the variables. Multiple regression analyses were then conducted to see how mean liking and peak liking predicted both delayed ad liking and delayed brand memory. Year, Length and Product Category were entered into the regression equations in three separate blocks as control variables. Comparisons were also made among the independent variables to find the best predictor of both delayed ad liking and delayed brand memory. The comparisons were based on the magnitude of partial regression coefficients and the unique contributions or squared semipartial coefficients that the independent variables had in predicting delayed ad liking and brand memory.

Data Screening and Bivariate Correlation

Frequency counts for all the variables indicated that there were altogether 97 cases (N = 97) and no missing cases. Further analysis indicated that the data for this study met the assumptions for multiple regressions and that further analysis could proceed. Table 1 presents the bivariate correlation coefficients between key dependent and independent variables. Except for Product Category and Year, which were coded as dummy variables, the table includes key variables that are of interest in the present study. It is clear that, albeit with different magnitudes, all the variables in the analysis were significantly correlated with each other. The predictor variables (mean liking and peak liking) had significant positive relationships with three dependent variables, namely, delayed ad liking and delayed brand memory (recall and recognition). A control variable, Length, was also significantly correlated with both the dependent and independent variables. Long commercials tended to have higher liking scores and were also better remembered than short ones.

Relationship of Real-time Ad Liking With Delayed Ad Liking. Hypothesis 1 is intended to test whether real-time ad liking was positively correlated with delayed ad liking. To do this, both mean liking and peak liking were used to predict delayed ad liking. A series of hierarchical multiple regressions were run to test this hypothesis with Year, Product Category, and Length as control variables.

Table 2 lists the standardized coefficients (beta) of the hierarchical regression equations. As Equation 1 in the table indicates, the year in which the ads were shown did not have a significant positive association with delayed ad liking. When the product categories were entered (see Equation 2), delayed ad liking was positively associated with Product Category 3, shoes/clothes (beta=.29, p<.05) and Product Category 6, food/beverages (beta=48, p<.01). This means that products in these two categories were associated with an increase of the delayed liking scores when compared with the reference group of entertainment, partialling out the year in which the ads were shown.

The next control variable Lenght had a significant positive relationship (beta=.28, p<.01) with delayed ad liking in Equation 3. In other words, controlling for Product Category and Year, long commercials would increase delayed ad liking by .28 standard unit.

The two independent variables were then entered alternately into the equations. Equation 4 shows that peak liking was positively associated (beta=.7, p<.001) with delayed ad liking after the control variables were partialled out. After peak liking was entered into the equation, the total variance (R^2) in the dependent variable increased by .25 (p<.001).

Mean liking also had a positive relationship (beta=.57, p<.001) with delayed ad liking above and beyond the other variables (see Equation 5 in Table 2). The fact that both independent variables in the regression analyses had positive relationships with delayed ad liking lent strong support for Hypothesis 1. It was therefore concluded that real-time ad liking was positively correlated to delayed ad liking.

Relationship of Real-time Ad Liking With Delayed Brand Memory. The second hypothesis states that real-time ad liking is positively related to delayed brand memory. To test it, hierarchical regressions were run with both brand recall and brand recognition as the dependent variables.

Table 3 lists the regression equations and standard coefficients regarding the relationship between real-time ad liking and delayed brand recall. As can be seen from Equations 1 and 2, the partial coefficients for Year and Product Category alone were negligible in predicting recall. Only Product Category 6 (food and beverages) had a significant contribution to the total explained variance in recall. This means that for food and beverage ads the recall was increased by .57 standard unit (beta=.57, p<.01). After controlling for Product Category and Year, Length had a significant to the total variance of delayed recall (R^2 change=.04, p<.001). Therefore, long commercials will increase delayed recall by .21 standard unit (beta=.21, p<.01), other things being equal.

Subsequently, the two independent predictors were entered into two separate equations. Peak liking had a significant positive relationship (beta =.46, p<.001) with recall after partialling out the control variables. Mean liking also had a positive relationship with recall (beta=.30, p<.01) other things being equal. This provided ample evidence to conclude that real-time ad liking was positively associated with delayed recall of the advertised brands.

To further explore the relationship between real-time ad liking and brand memory, the above regressions procedures were repeated to test ad liking's association with delayed brand recognition, another measure of brand memory. Results of these regression analyses are presented in Table 4. Here again, the three blocks of control variables were entered in the equations first. Both Product Category 6, food/beverages, (beta=.78, p<.001) and Length (beta=.33, p<.001) had positive contributions to the variance in delayed brand recognition.

Equation 4 in Table 4 shows the relationship of peak liking with brand recognition. Peak liking had a significant positive relationship with the recognition of brands, accounting for about 6% (p<.001) increase in the total variance in recognition. Positive relationships of mean liking was also found in the next equation. With Year, Length and Product Category controlled, mean liking was positively related to recognition (beta=.30, p<.001).

Given that both peak liking and mean liking had significantly positive contributions in predicting both delayed recall and recognition of brand names, it was concluded that real-time ad liking was positively associated with delayed brand recall and recognition, lending full support for Hypothesis 2.

Comparison of Mean Liking and Peak Liking

Comparing Predictors of Delayed Ad Liking. To compare the robustness of mean liking and peak liking, the partial regression coefficients of each predictor variables in predicting delayed ad liking were compared. Partial regression coefficients show the relationship between a dependent variable and an independent variable while other independent variables are held constant.

In predicting delayed ad liking, peak liking's partial coefficient was .7 (p<.001), higher than that of mean liking (see Table 2). It also accounted for a higher increase (R^2 change=.25) of the total explained variance in delayed ad liking than mean liking

(R^2=.22). This provides clear evidence that peak liking was more predictive of delayed ad liking than mean liking. Hypothesis 3 thus failed to receive support. Mean liking was not, as hypothesized, more effective in predicting delayed ad liking. Instead, peak liking turned to be the better predictor of delayed ad liking after controlling for the other variables.

Comparing Predictors of Brand Memory. To compare the two real-time measures in predicting brand memory including recall and recognition, their partial regression coefficients in the regression models were compared. The partial regression coefficients associated with the independent variables are presented in Tables 3 and 4. The partial regression coefficients for peak liking in the predicting recall was .46 ($p<.001$). This is much higher than the partial coefficients associated with mean liking. Peak liking's partial regression coefficient was .34 ($p<.001$), higher than those of the three other predictor variables.

In light of these findings, it was concluded that peak liking was superior to mean liking in the prediction of both brand name recall and recognition. Hypothesis 4 was not supported here either. In conclusion, peal liking exhibited stronger predictive power for both delayed ad liking and delayed brand memory. It is thus recommended that peak liking in the current contexts be used as the single most effective measure of real-time liking for advertisements.

Conclusions

Hypothesis 1 was supported. Real-time ad liking was positively associated with delayed ad liking after controlling for Length, Product Category and Year. This means that an increase in immediate attitude toward a commercial could lead to an increase in delayed attitude to the same commercial. Generally speaking, liking for an ad during exposure might endure for some period of time afterwards. For example, ads that were better liked at the time of exposure continued to be likable after a delay of 24-72 hours. This supports findings by Chattopadhyay and Nedungadi (1990, 1992), who provided empirical evidence on the endurance of ad attitude.

The delayed ad liking measure used in this study was determined by asking respondents how much they liked a brand's ads. If a brand such as Nike or Pepsi had two or more ads during one game, delayed ad liking would be the overall liking for all the ads of a brand. It was therefore possible that delayed ad liking was actually a surrogate measure of brand liking. As Biel and Bridgwater (1990) suggested, likable advertising would have an impact on persuasion because a likable commercial was likely to affect the emotional component of attitude toward the brand. If respondents in the present study liked the ads, they could have been more inclined to like the brand and product by means of a simple conditioning process (Biel & Bridgwater, 1990).

Advertising researchers have long confirmed the positive relationship between ad liking and brand attitude. For example, Laczniak and Carlson (1986), Muehling and Laczniak (1992) all found that better liked ads led to more positive brand attitudes. Findings from the present study are congruent with such previous conclusions on ad attitude in general and ad liking in particular.

Because audience exposure to the ads in the present study occurred in natural environments, the positive association of real-time ad liking with delayed ad liking is especially significant. As Lutz (1985) pointed out, consumers' psychological processes evoked in laboratories and living rooms might be different. Ordinarily, laboratory procedures provoke attentive and effortful processing of treatment stimuli, whereas in living rooms the consumer is seen as devoting little cognitive capacity to the ad. Findings derived from the present study using a quasi-experimental approach have higher validity and can be more readily generalized to real-life viewing situations.

Positive Relationship With Delayed Brand Memory

The positive relationship between ad attitude and delayed brand memory has found in the past (see Walker and Dubitsky, 1994; Zinkhan et al, 1986). These early findings received support in the present study. Multiple regression analyses conducted in this study indicated that after controlling for Length, Year and Product Category, real-time ad liking had a positive relationship with both the recall and recognition of brand names when measured 24-72 hours after the commercial exposure.

The inclusion of the delayed measures is significant because consumers usually make purchase decisions pertaining to the advertised products after a delay. From the time a consumer is exposed to the ad to making the actual purchasing decision, intervening events may distort or even eliminate the original impact of the advertising message (Pechmann & Stewart, 1988). Findings here indicate the consumer reaction toward the ad in natural viewing environments is enduring and may carry over to when purchase decisions are made.

Contrary to the initial assumptions, peak liking was found here to be a better predictor of both delayed ad liking and brand memory. Although peak liking and mean liking were highly correlated, peak liking predicted delayed ad liking and delayed brand memory significantly better. This supports findings by Zhao et al. (1993), who validated the Ad Meter scores used by *USA Today* to rank Super Bowl commercials. The Ad Meter scores are the peak liking scores for each of the ads aired during the Super Bowl game, and *USA Today* has been using them since 1989. Based on the results found in this study, the Ad Meter should continue to be viewed as a good and valid measure of real-time ad liking.

The effectiveness of peak liking in predicting delayed ad liking and brand memory have several practical and theoretical implications. It means that ads that make the strongest impressions in the minds of consumers at any point of the ad exposure will endure for at least one to three days. Such impressions may transfer to the liking of the advertisements at a later time and make the brand name more memorable. In other words, any segment of an ad, if liked best, may have "spillover" effects on other segments of the ad. Segments of an ad that have low likability scores may be overshadowed by any segment having peak liking scores.

It also implies that consumers do not necessarily average their overall liking of commercials to form delayed ad liking or brand memory. It could be that after a long delay, overall reactions toward the commercial may become less important. It is the salience of particularly likable segments of commercials that is more enduring and more effective.

For advertising professionals, the importance of peak liking means that in order for ads to be effective and enduring, there must be one or two moments within an ad that should be salient and generate higher liking. In a natural and competitive environment, average liking of commercials is necessary, but not sufficient, to win in the face of the selective attention and limited memory capacity of viewers. To be effective in such environments, ads need to be liked overall (high mean liking scores) and in addition, need to use a few seconds of highly effective executional tools or attention-getting selling points (high peak liking scores) to compete for viewers' affective reactions.

Future research should continue to cross-validate findings in this study, especially the relationship between mean liking and peak liking. Researchers can also content-analyze individual ads and examine why certain segments of ads generate higher peak liking scores. A categorization of these key segments will certainly shed light on the creative requirement for achieving better consumer evaluations of ads.

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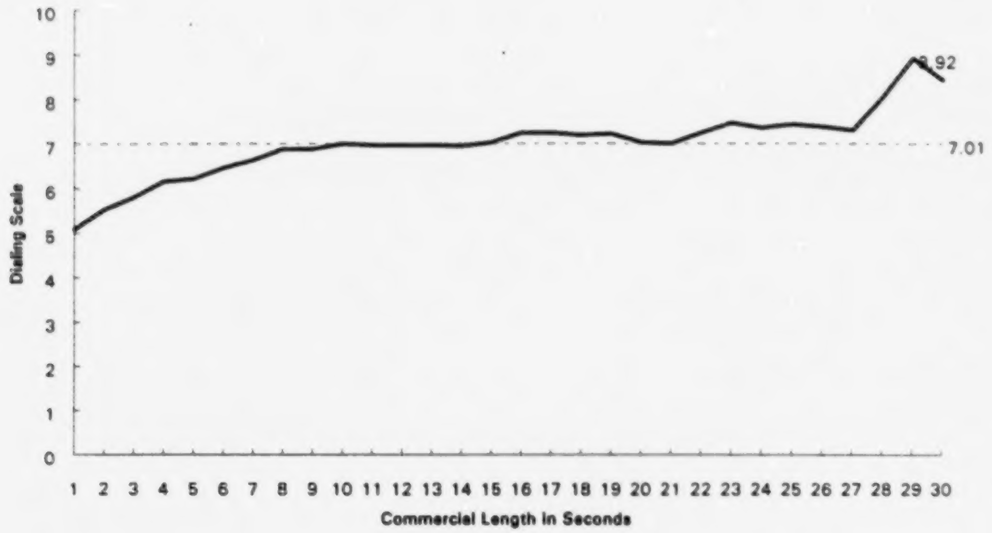
Appendix

Figure 1. A Comparison of Mean Liking and Peak Liking Scores for a Commercial



Note:

This graph illustrates audience response to a Doritos commercial aired during the 1994 Super Bowl game. The bold line is audience second-by-second response to the commercial. The highest point in the curve is 8.92, which is *peak liking* score. The dotted line represents ***mean liking***, which is the averaged score (7.01) for the commercial.

Mean toward the end is the average liking score for the last 10 seconds, which is 7.67 for this ad. *Percentage of positive slope* reflects the proportion of increasingly positive responses over the course of the commercial. To obtain this score, each ad's momentary score was subtracted from the preceding one and *the percentage of positive* (greater than zero) scores was calculated. For this ad, 16 out of 30 data points remain above zero after the subtraction, and therefore *the percentage of positive slope* for it is 53% (16 divided by 30).

Table 1. Bivariate Correlation Coefficients Among Key Variables

Variables	**Length**	**Mean Liking**	**Peak Liking**	**Delayed Ad Liking**	**Recognition**
Recall	.38***	.50***	.62***	.69***	.77***
Recognition	.54***	.62***	.70***	.67***	
Delayed Ad Liking	.43***	.68***	.74***		
Peak Liking	.53***	.90***			
Mean Liking	.40***				
Length	-				

N=97; *p< .05; **p<.01; ***p<.001

Variable definitions:
Peak liking is peak real-time liking score of commercials.
Mean liking is the average real-time ad liking.
Delayed liking is the liking of commercials after a delay of 24-72 hours.
Recognition is the delayed recognition of brand names for advertised product/services.
Recall is the delayed unaided memory of brand names for advertised products/services.
Length: Total amount of air time for a brand's commercials during each year's Super Bowl game. Long commercials (45 seconds or longer) coded as 1, and short commercials (30 seconds) coded as 0.

Table 2. The Relationship Between Real-time ad liking and Delayed Ad Liking

(Dependent variable: delayed ad liking; cell entries are standard coefficients)

Variables	**Eq. 1**	**Eq. 2**	**Eq. 3**	**Eq. 4**	**Eq. 5**
Year 1995	.13	.18	.20*	.29***	.31***
Year 1996	.01	.04	.10	.15	.14
Product 1		-.04	-.13	-.14	-.06
Product 2		.02	-.08	-.04	.01
Product 3		.29*	.21	.09	.05
Product 4		-.10	-.13	-.13	-.09
Product 5		.03	.01	.01	.03
Product 6		.48**	.30	-.03	.17
Length			.28**	.05	.15**
Peak liking				.70***	
Mean liking					.57***
R^2	.02	.33***	.39***	.64***	.61***
R^2 Change	-	.31	.06	.25	.22

N = 97; *p< .05; **p<.01; ***p<.001

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Table 3. The Relationship Between Real-time ad liking and Brand Recall

(Dependent variable: brand recall; cell entries are standard coefficients)

Variables	**Eq. 1**	**Eq. 2**	**Eq. 3**	**Eq. 4**	**Eq. 5**
Year 1995	-.11	-.09	-.07	-.02	-.02
Year 1996	-.08	-.09	-.05	-.02	-.03
Product 1		.03	-.03	-.04	.01
Product 2		.06	.01	.04	.08
Product 3		.20	.14	.06	.09
Product 4		.03	.01	.01	.02
Product 5		.03	.03	.01	.02
Product 6		.57**	.43	.21	.37
Length			.21*	.06	.14
Peak liking				.46***	
Mean liking					.30**
R^2	.01	.27***	.31***	.42***	.37***
R^2 Change	-	.26	.04	.11	.06

N = 97; *p< .05; **p<.01; ***p<.001

Table 4. The Relationship Between Real-time ad liking and Brand Recognition

(Dependent variable: brand recognition; cell entries are standard coefficients)

Variables	**Eq. 1**	**Eq. 2**	**Eq. 3**	**Eq. 4**	**Eq. 5**
Year 1995	-.19	-.16	-.14	-.10	-.08
Year 1996	-.11	-.14	-.08	-.05	-.05
Product 1		.06	-.03	-.04	.01
Product 2		.07	-.04	.01	.06
Product 3		.32	.22	.16	.18
Product 4		.11	.08	.08	.10
Product 5		.15	.12	.12	.14
Product 6		.78***	.57***	.41**	.51***
Length			.33***	.22**	.26***
Peak liking				.34***	
Mean liking					.30***
R^2	.02	.50***	.59***	.65***	.65***
R^2 Change	-	.48	.09	.06	.06

N = 97, *p< .05; **p<.01; ***p<.001

Integrating Hypermedia Instruction into an Advertising Communications Graphics Classroom

by

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Students and faculty of advertising and mass communications programs are wanting to learn more about the mechanics, and teaching and learning opportunities offered by the World Wide Web. This paper explores some of the pedagogical and theoretical issues with the content and delivery of hypermedia instruction in an advertising communications graphics elective laboratory course, and examines some of the benefits of and problems with integrating hypermedia instruction into the class–from the perspectives of the students and the instructor.

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Integrating Hypermedia Instruction into an Advertising Graphics Classroom

INTRODUCTION

–Rethinking instructional design and delivery with hypermedia

Some of the most popular topics in higher education today are the World Wide Web, the Internet's graphical interface, and its integration with college-level instruction. As we move from the classroom to teaching off campus or on-line, distance learning and traditional teaching require distinctive considerations, methods and institutional mechanisms. "With virtuality now staring us in the face, we can no longer postpone making educational changes without risking disturbing consequences" (Bensusan, 1996). The Web may hold the key to better cooperative development and distance delivery of college-level instruction in quantitative fields such as critical thinking (Mesher, 1996).

The Web's universally available system of linked hypertext messages and images have become valuable resources within many university classrooms, not the least of which are those classes called the "new media" or "multimedia" now emerging in many university journalism and mass communications programs. Although on-line classes are not new to college classrooms, it appears that many are moving beyond simple posting of class information to a Web site and into the next level of hypermedia curriculum design. Bazillion and Braun (1998) suggest that within constructivist learning theory there are several areas in which Web-based instruction promises effective results: active learning by exploring and navigating through the Web's virtual resources; individualization of different learning styles; cooperative learning through peer motivation, involvement and approval; critical thinking inasmuch as the Web can invite students to examine ideas or issues critically; contextual learning by exploring the many sites which relate to certain topics; and increasing basic Web and electronic learning skills.

Students of advertising and public relations will benefit, especially, because the Web environment is a growth medium within the industry. Internet advertising is increasing at an explosive rate – from about $40 million in 1995, to about $300 million last year, or nearly 700% higher. While it is still only a tiny fraction of the total amount spent on advertising in all media, the Internet is the fastest-growing segment of the world' s advertising industry. A solid understanding of the environment and opportunities of the Web will be prerequisites for graduates of journalism and mass communications programs seeking employment in the marketplace of the new millennium (Levins, 1997). On-line instruction can benefit students of advertising and mass communications and can also serve as an incentive to faculty of all disciplines to re-think class content, delivery and outcome assessment.

The technical and pedagogical challenges to Web-based instruction are considerable, but the solutions to what some are calling the new learning paradigm are out there. This paper explores some of the issues with on-line instruction within an advertising communications graphics laboratory course. It examines some of the current issues of teaching with hypermedia, and provides some preliminary student and faculty feedback to the class' Web-based content, design and methods.

BACKGROUND

–The origins of hypertext and hypermedia communication

The terms hypertext (non-linear text) and hypermedia are mostly synonymous and used interchangeably. Hypertext is a text-only base, and hypermedia includes other media such as graphics, sound and animation. Hypertext or hypermedia communication was originally developed for the scientific community, but is now easily developed for universal distribution and access on the Web. In the late 1980's a number of groups around the world saw the need for the development of open hypermedia systems and link services which are now being widely recognized by the user community as well. This growth of the

Web now presents a set of communication protocols that enable the integration of all types of information processing tools (Hall, Davis and Hutchings, 1996). Both terms are credited to Ted Nelson of Brown University in the early 1960's in his vision of a universal hypermedia system he called Xanadu. The hypermedia systems are most fully envisioned in his 1981 book "Literary Machines." Nelson suggested that it would be possible to electronically store anything that anybody has ever written or photographed or filmed and to produce a system that can connect any piece of information to any other piece of information. As Nelson proposes in Literary Machines, "There are no intellectual subjects. For someone used to learning, to grabbing vocabulary and ideas, the elements of a new subject can come quickly. The more diagrams you have seen, the more words you know, the more theories you have heard, the more easily you can grasp the next one and assimilate it to the snowball of ideas already rolling around in your head." (Nelson, 1981).

For the sake of clarity in this paper's discussion of new computer-generated media instruction, terms such as hypertext, hypermedia, multimedia, on-line, Internet and the World Wide Web will be used interchangeably, even though their individual definitions may vary. They all express the basic process of the electronic and non-linear delivery of information in a universally distributed hypertextual environment such as the Internet and World Wide Web.

–The pedagogical debate between traditional and the digital delivery methods

In order to better understand how or why to re-think course content, design and delivery, especially when it may involve a radical technology shift and new teaching and learning curves, it is important to look at some of the issues framing the instructional debate. Much has been written about the impact technology is having within the classroom, and about how it should evolve. Some believe the digital information and delivery revolution is so pervasive and profound that educational equity and access to knowledge it represents is much like the invention of the printing press (Davis, 1993). Even though hypermedia instruction at the university level is not new, administrators and faculty are still uncertain about its classroom integration. Administrators are concerned about adequate funding for technology and how to encourage faculty adoption. Should faculty receive development time, or additional promotion and tenure incentives, or both? Some "more traditional" faculty eschew technology, and others are regular attendees at the institution's new media center's workshops and seminars. Faculty media adoption involves, "independent use," and is still the most basic level, and the level at which early adopters have operated for quite some time (Gilbert, 1995). As James Garner Ptaszynski (1997) states, "I think that we in the academy must be open to new instructional methods and pedagogies." The academy, Ptaszynski suggests, must accept that changes are inevitable, and while educators shouldn't roll over, they should become vigorously engaged in the changing paradigm of education. How, why and who should lead this teaching and learning shift are recurring questions. Because of the mass communications content of the advertising curriculum, advertising educators may have no choice but to integrate components of new media into their courses, exploring new media as systems of delivery and design as well as investigating the underlying processes of hypermedia communications.

Those who are studying new media instruction believe that faculty need to be in the forefront of the technological change in the classroom. Both the early adopters and mainstream faculty can learn from each other and find value in technologies that improve teaching if teachers and not the technologists lead the way (Gilbert, 1995). As early adopting faculty and instructional technology divisions within universities are eager to develop their technology classrooms, perhaps another, and possibly more fundamental issue should be explored. It may be more important than ever before for faculty *and* student to enter into collaborative effort to develop the hypermedia approaches that will pass the pedagogy as well as the hypermedia tests. Educators are increasingly rejecting the existing models and searching for ways to involve students actively in the design of course materials. Maturing computer technology and emerging standards in educational hypermedia offer revolutionary opportunities for students to participate in producing lessons, designing topic reviews, and developing a course's knowledge base (Sedbrook, 1996).

THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

–Serendipity, flow and self-efficacy of the non-linear user

Much of the current instructional hypermedia design in is being overseen by instructional technology personnel within university computer services units. These technology specialists, often very young Web-savvy programmers, work hand-in-hand with faculty to adapt current course information into hypertext Web environments. However, as more research and consideration is given to the issue of content and design for on-line delivery, it may be important to re-think the whole process. Course content and design in the hypermedia classroom can no longer be considered without knowing more about the way in which the primary users interact with hypermedia, such as the Web. As everyone becomes more adept at using the Web for a variety of information gathering or instructional purposes, it is important to take into account the increasing sophistication of user activity and site design. Today, the 50.6 million users of the Internet in this country are involved with this medium for a variety of reasons. According to the Georgia Institute of Technology's recent WWW User Survey, in 1997 the most common Web activities were: to gather information (86.03%), followed by searching (63.01), browsing (61.29%), work (54.05%), education (52.21%), communication (47.02%), and entertainment (45.48%). In 1996, a story in U.S. News and World Reports said, "Cruising the Internet is like browsing through a used bookstore, where the rewards are serendipitous. A lot of junk on the net? Sure, and plenty of gems. When you turn up one, you can mark it. Over time you will develop a custom table of Web contents." The chief result of browsing is serendipity, which is defined as "an apparent aptitude for making fortunate discoveries accidentally." To maximize the opportunities with the non-linear structure of the Web, it will be necessary to understand the relationship the user has with it. Web and course content should foster serendipity (Fredin, 1997).

Mass communications programs have for many years evaluated the impact of the audience on the communicator (Bauer, 1962). If we consider students as the primary audience or user, a more focused picture of pedagogically sound hypermedia approaches will develop. Eric Fredin's recent monograph on hypterstory prototypes and user models suggests, "A new model of the audience member is also needed because in hypermedia, more than any other medium, the user must be actively engaged, fundamentally because the user must make choices to keep the story moving. The user constructs his or her own story through making choices" (Fredin). Anyone who's surfed the Web will often describe this experience in terms of "losing track of time," and being "intensely focused on finding something." Fredin further described this user activity within several psychological and behavioral perspectives. He cites Chicago psychologist Mihaly Czikszentmihalyi's study of the way people become immersed in their own state of play, which he called "flow." This state of flow describes how people can get so involved in something they forget themselves and pay undivided attention to the task. Czikszentmihaly found that people in all areas seek to achieve and maintain this pleasurable state of "often intense concentration and the experience not of being in control like driving, but of exercising control in a complex difficult activity." Satisfaction for someone in a state of flow comes from mastery of something, such as navigating through a series of links on the Web. In the context of pleasurable, immersed complex activity such as Czikszentmihaly's flow, it appears there are some exciting opportunities applicable to hypermedia, such as taking advantage of the attributes of an interactivity process such as Web surfing to encourage the self-sustaining actions found in curiosity and flow. Much like Huzuinga, Schramm and Szasz's concepts of pleasure and play, mass communications researcher William Stephenson's believed one of the key roles of mass communications is to provide the audience with communication pleasure, or subjective play (Stephenson, 1967).

When considering user proficiency and technological confidence, important to the adoption of new technology use, Bandura and Schunk's (1981) theory of self-efficacy says that "people's judgments of their capabilities to organize and execute courses of action required to attain designed types of performances refer to beliefs in one's capabilities to mobilize the motivation, cognitive resources and courses of action needed to meet situational demands." More simply put, self-efficacy is how a person perceives he or she can perform a certain task. Fredin suggests that the higher the person's self-efficacy, the more the user might be motivated to continue to search through the hypermedia links. Should the user's sense of self-efficacy be supported and developed when designing the instructional hypermedia materials?

The serendipity of flow and self-efficacy constitute some of the basic concepts in Fredin's user model. He concluded that the way in which hypermediated information is designed must take into account the way in which the user is involved. While these terms are drawn largely from psychology, the basic ideas refer to activities and states of being that one can readily experience in daily life. They describe a more active and dynamic audience member than is generally presumed with other news media. When considering the way in which the user interacts with the Web, a central consideration may be to let the user decide how much challenge he or she wants. As computer games manufacturers have discovered, the ability of a player to vary the level of challenge is a central aspect of what makes the games continually interesting. Therefore, in the classroom, maybe the rule of "first a little, then a lot," is one way to maintain user interest. Control over the level of challenges is also central to maintaining flow, which is characterized by intense concentration, because it can also minimize the distraction of extraneous or intrusive material.

Ultimately, effective hypermedia classroom instruction (like any good educational pedagogy) will keep the user in an active and self-reflective state of mind. Although there is a tendency to think that people are motivated by whatever is easiest, most convenient, or most sensational, varied streams of research indicate that for many people and in many situations, what is motivating is a level of challenge that matches their skills (Fredin 1997). For educators, the non-linearity of the hypermedia environment and the increasing sophistication of the user are perhaps the medium's greatest potential in the classroom. The challenge, of course, is to learn how to design and produce materials that will maximize their potential for instructor and student alike.

THE ADVERTISING COMMUNICATIONS GRAPHICS CLASSROOM

–Computing facilities and classrooms

This paper involves the integration of a very basic hypermedia Web site for an advertising communications graphics course. In the mid-90's, the graphics and typography classroom was equipped with digital scanning equipment, laser printers and the wiring necessary to establish an AppleShare network. The college added a dedicated server in 1995, and the university established an ethernet network that connected classroom computers with each other across campus. This ethernet connection supported the Telnet software for student e-mails and Netscape browser software for immediate access to the Internet and World Wide Web.

By the spring of 1996, the college had launched its own Web site and some faculty voluntarily integrated Web site information into their classes. In the fall of 1996 the elective advertising communications graphics course researched, developed, wrote and designed the advertising department's first Web pages. Today, this same course continues to focus much of its time on electronic technology and design, but the responsibility for the actual advertising Web site content and design has shifted to a newly hired a technology specialist who is responsible for equipment maintenance and Web site development.

–Combining the ephemeral with the digital

This elective communications graphics course, which explores the design of print and electronically delivered information, is now taught using both traditional and hypermediated instructional methods. The course has been taught by the same instructor since it was introduced, and Macintosh-based equipment is ethernetworked to the Internet. Students are required to have e-mail accounts, and have various proficiencies in Web surfing and html programming.

In their prerequisite communications graphics course students are exposed preliminarily to Web-based concepts, terminology, some html programming, and class lectures and discussions about the integration of this new multimedia technology into the culture, commerce and the advertising industry. For the past two years, much of the course information for both the introductory and advanced communications graphics courses have been available in both paper and hypermediated form. Each class has its own Web site, and student are encouraged, but not required, to access much of their classroom information on-line. The mechanics of the both classes' site production, such as the html and java scripting programming, incorporation of graphic images, are worth noting. The instructor was responsible for the content development of the site and an undergraduate senior-level student, working on an independent study with the instructor, was responsible for the actual screen design and the programming of the site.

Although the class is not delivered as an exclusively on-line course, such as some of the distance education classes, students are still expected to integrate much of what is available on-line into their weekly class activities. For example, they are encouraged to access specific Web sites for information about certain kinds of design projects, such as the virtual design library of Communications Arts Magazine, http://www.commarts.com. They are encouraged to utilize many of the graphics ideas now available in on-line image libraries, such as artville.com, or adobestudios.com, or non-copyrighted gif or jpeg graphic images available within many Web sites. A brief overview of each of the class' Web components is discussed below:

–Current Projects

Current assignments and projects are posted, in their entirety, on the Web site. Students are given this information on paper, as well, but are encouraged to use the Web site versions to refer to specific portions quickly, or when they want to review everything on-screen simultaneously.

–Previous Projects

Archived projects from previous semesters are part of the current Web site. Students are encouraged to visit previous assignments for their own informational purposes such as learning more about the instructor's style, expectations and grading policies. Prospective students are encouraged to surf the entire site, but also to explore the kinds of assignments and projects that have been offered over the past several years to determine if they want to take this elective course.

–Readings

On-line readings are an integral part of this Web site. The readings were selected because of their relevance to the course content, and to supplement the textbook and other required textbook materials, such as the Design or Advertising Annuals of Communications Arts magazine. These were assigned as required reading materials. It is interesting to note that Communication Arts Magazine now has an electronic equivalent so that students may refer to a paper copy as well as an electronic on-line version of this well-known graphic design resource.

–Syllabus

A complete course syllabus, including lecture and laboratory dates, class overview and expectations, instructor's name, address, e-mail and office hours, is available on-line.

–Individual and group e-mail

Each student's individual e-mail address is linked to the site, along with a group e-mail address. Students are encouraged to e-mail each other or the entire class, and the instructor uses individual or the group address to send information to the students or the class at any time of the day or night.

–Student "Home Pages"

Each semester, as students complete this class, they may choose to create their own Web home page. This class Web site "serves" as a home site for these electronic student creations. Past, present and future students are encouraged to view the html design efforts of their classmates. Students have hands-on opportunities to become a part of cyberspace.

–On-line instruction via tutorials

This semester, student-written and designed tutorials of Adobe PageMill, File and Website Hierarchy, Gif Animation with Freehand 3.1, and Animated Gif Creation were added to the course Web site. Students are able to access and work through assignments with this tutorial instruction–at their convenience. As with any of the class Web site information, hard copies of any of these materials can be printed at the student's discretion and expense.

–On-line conversation via the Web discussion board

This semester, the 15 students in this advanced communications graphics class were introduced to what is called a Web discussion board. Building on the concept of the chat room, the Web discussion board enables students to conduct conversations with each other and the instructor about a variety of class-related issues. Because only a few (20%) of the students had had experience with these on-line discussions other than e-mail, almost a full lab was devoted to practicing posting and answering questions to the Web discussion board. Then as outside-of-class assignments, students were required to read two of the on-line readings each week. The readings were selected and posted to the Web site based upon the relevance they had to issues, topics and trends in both print and electronic communications graphics. Students could navigate to these readings by selecting one of the javascript buttons at the top of the class Web page. Once on the front page of the class readings section, another frame on the right side of the page outlined the following assignment:

"For each reading you will use the following question stems to formulate a question for one of your classmates to answer. When you are finished writing your question, answer one posed by a classmate. Post questions and answers to the Web discussion board under the thread corresponding to the title of the reading. Do not duplicate questions or answer a question to which someone has already posted a response. If answering your question requires background information, be sure to post the URL. You are free to incorporate information presented, not only in the reading itself, but from lectures, other readings or Web sites, and from other courses had by you and your classmates. These may include Mass Media and Society, History of Mass Media, and Communications Law. Check the board frequently and be prepared to defend your answers or elaborate upon your questions."

–Examples of Web discussion board question stems

Although students could formulate their own questions, these question "stems" were supplied to help guide them in this new form of electronic communication.

What is a new example of________? How would you use ______ to ______? What would happen if______? What are the strengths and weaknesses of ______? What do we already know about ______? How does ______ tie in with what we learned before? Explain why ______. Explain how ______. How does ______ affect______?

Once they had read the on-line readings and determined what question and answers they wanted to pose, they navigated to the Web discussion board button on the class Web site. This took them into the actual Web discussion board on which they could post their questions, and provide follow up answers to the questions they selected.

As the semester has evolved, the Web discussion board conversation has grown. The instructor has the sole control over the removal of messages from the board.

FINDINGS

–Student feedback to hypermedia and the graphics classroom Web site

Student questionnaires about the Web site and its contents were given the tenth week of the semester. The purpose of the questionnaire was to collect feedback on the usefulness and effectiveness of the Web-related components of the course, and to provide the instructor with sufficient data to continue to refine the Web site and its contents. Unfortunately the sample is very small with just 15 students in this laboratory class (16 is the maximum allowed) responding. However, it will serve as a baseline for future inquiry with subsequent classes. The following provides response numbers or ranks to the 15 students' responses. (Because the sample was small, simple tallies, rather than percentages are used in most cases):

1. Is this the first course in which you've had access to on-line course information, like the syllabus and readings?

yes–5 no–10

2. Is this the first course in which you've been required to do on-line assignments like the Web discussion board?, or had access to course information on-line?

yes–12 no–3

3. What do you like most about being able to access class information on-line? (Listed in order of most liked)

1-Access to current class projects and assignments with deadlines
2-Access to current syllabus and student e-mails
3-Access to on-line readings
4-Access to web discussion opportunities like the Web discussion board
5-Access to previous class projects/assignments

4. What do you like least about having to access class information on-line? (Listed in order of least liked)

1-Lack of time
2-Computer availability
3-Don't like reading on-line
4-Still learning about the technology

5. How do you prefer getting course information, such as the projects, readings and syllabus?

on paper–3 on-line–0 both–12

6. Where do you do most of your on-line classwork, such as the readings or the Web discussion board?

home–6 office–1 school–8

7. Assuming you had unlimited access to a computer, on-line classwork, assignments and readings would be more convenient.

9-Strongly Agree
3-Agree
2-Neutral
1-Disagree
0 Strongly Disagree

8. I like to "surf the Web."

9-Strongly Agree
2-Agree
4-Neutral
0-Disagree
0-Strongly Disagree

9. Right now, I use the Internet for (give approx. percentages of time to equal 100%)

E-mail (46.86%)
Term papers, research, general information (24.96%)
Specific classes I'm taking (13%)
Entertainment (11.8%)
Other (3%)

10. The design of the ADVT 498 Website was easy to navigate.

5-Strongly Agree
8-Agree
2-Neutral
0-Disagree
0-Strongly Disagree

11. I liked the content of the ADVT 498 Website.

4-Strongly Agree
9-Agree
2-Neutral
0-Disagree
0-Strongly Disagree

12. Learning how to use the Internet for a class will help me learn how to use it more effectively on the job.

9-Strongly Agree
4-Agree
1-Neutral
1-Disagree
0-Strongly Disagree

13. I liked having access to class readings via the ADVT 498 Website.

4-Strongly Agree
7-Agree
3-Neutral
1-Disagree
0-Strongly Disagree

14. I can save money with on-line readings rather than buying a course packet.

9-Strongly Agree
5-Agree
0-Neutral
0-Disagree
1-Strongly Disagree

15. I comprehend information from the screen just as well as I do from paper.

3-Strongly Agree
2-Agree
5-Neutral
5-Disagree
0-Strongly Disagree

16. I feel more comfortable discussing certain issues with my classmates on-line, rather than in a large classroom.

2-Strongly Agree
3-Agree
5-Neutral
5-Disagree
0-Strongly Disagree

17. This kind of on-line "interaction" sharpens my critical thinking skills.

2-Strongly Agree
6-Agree
5-Neutral
2-Disagree
0-Strongly Disagree

18. This kind of on-line interaction with my classmates improves my comprehension of the information.

3-Strongly Agree
5-Agree
7-Neutral
0-Disagree
0-Strongly Disagree

19. The on-line readings and my activity with the Web discussion board made me want to explore subjects further.

1-Strongly Agree
5-Agree
5-Neutral
4-Disagree
0-Strongly Disagree

20. I would have read the assigned readings on my own even if I didn't have to post questions to the Web discussion board.

0-Strongly Agree
2-Agree
7-Neutral
6-Disagree
0-Strongly Disagree

21. Web discussion groups like the Web discussion board are useful to aid in learning about certain subjects.

5-Strongly Agree
6-Agree
4-Neutral
0-Disagree
0-Strongly Disagree

22. Would it make a difference in your attention and comprehension to the readings if you had been tested over them, rather than just having to post questions to the Web discussion board?

0-Strongly Agree
5-Agree
4-Neutral
5-Disagree
1-Strongly Disagree

23. The Web discussion board would be best used to: (responses below ranked in order of preference)

1-Supplement traditional classroom methods
2-Give students additional ways in which to access reading information
3-Give students better ways to interact or demonstrate level of interest with professor
4-Give students ways to build upon their existing on-line library
5-Give students the opportunity to talk to each other on-line, rather than in classroom

24. The next generation of college students will probably get most of their class information on the Internet.

6-Strongly Agree
5-Agree
1-Neutral
3-Disagree
0-Strongly Disagree

25. One of the reasons I like the Internet is because it's more like play than work.

4-Strongly Agree
7-Agree
1-Neutral
3-Disagree
0-Strongly Disagree

26. When I use the Internet, I can forget time.

6-Strongly Agree
7-Agree
1-Neutral
1-Disagree
0-Strongly Disagree

27. When I use the Internet, I feel in control.

4-Strongly Agree
6-Agree
3-Neutral
2-Disagree
0-Strongly Disagree

28. When I use the Internet, I am rarely bored.

4-Strongly Agree
6-Agree
2-Neutral
2-Disagree
1-Strongly Disagree

When asked about suggestions they would have to make the class Web site better, students responded with these comments, "It will only be better once everyone has a computer and that just takes time because it is frustrating when I don't have a computer at home and others in class do." Two students responded, "Allow more in-class time for working with the Web discussion group and other on-line projects," and "Allow more class time." Another said, "I find the setup we have now to be very usable and understandable. It's possible the information may stick more if we discussed it in class also." Another student commented that "editing and constant updates" to the Web discussion group would be helpful. Another student commented that she would like to be able to "hand in creative assignments on-line," as is a file transfer or a graphic file transfer application such as Adobe Acrobat.

–Faculty feedback to hypermedia and the graphics classroom Web site

Even though this feedback comes from "a faculty of one," there is enough data to report on some of the instructor's experiences in this course. This instructor has taught it over a continuum of time, and has been teaching the communications graphics courses for 10 years within this department.

1) The visual richness of the Web environment. Anyone who has taught a graphics course within an advertising curriculum understands the importance of the availability of a variety of visual information. The graphical nature of the Web gives communications graphics students a virtual library of visual material, and another method by which to develop and incorporate visual design elements into their assignments and projects. It's a natural medium for a graphics class to study. Students were eager to learn more about the many opportunities for visual communication they could incorporate into their creative assignments, and feel more confident about their own Web skills.

2) Student assessment. With the on-line discussion groups or assignments, there is a different kind of student interaction. The instructor could access and store this discussion information easily on-line, at any time of the day or night. If necessary, the student interaction with the Web discussion board could also be printed for paper files. Student assessment is facilitated within a Web environment because the information is available on-line. As students became more comfortable with interactive class assignments and on-line discussions, their proficiencies were assessed in several areas such as: a.) communication skills, especially writing; b.) attention to and completion of assignments and on deadline; c.) understanding of the assigned materials; d.) individual competence as compared to the whole; 5.) general interest and awareness of particular topics 6.) willingness to go beyond the basic expectations; 7.) willingness to explore new areas of learning, such as technology.

3) Collaboration with faculty and students. The instructor maintained responsibility over course content, but developed strategic alliances with interested students more proficient in Web programming. Students were eager to be involved and felt empowered over their own educational processes. This relationship-building between faculty and student strengthened student confidence of the whole class when they realized they too were actively involved in the development of course material and class processes.

4) Faculty convenience with on-line information. By publishing routine information such as the course syllabus, schedule changes, advising hours, classroom policies, lab hours, and frequently asked questions to a class Web site, faculty can direct more time toward professional development. By maintaining an active file of immediately available information, the instructor was able to minimize needlessly repetitive interaction, lost syllabi, assignments, or other details that become particularly challenging with skills courses. Faculty and student use of e-mails has become popular within the past several years, and it continues to be a primary benefit to everyone. This Web site's individual and group e-mails, for students and instructor, were available on-line as part of the Web site, which meant that these addresses could be accessed from anywhere there was a computer connected to the Internet. Otherwise, most student and faculty e-mail accounts are available only through the networked Telnet software which may or may not be available off campus. By shifting e-mails to a Web's browser, e-mail access to these addresses is possible for anyone, not just faculty and students.

5) Teaching computer skills and proficiencies through on-line tutorials. By making beginning and advanced, easy-to-follow tutorials available on the class Web site, there was more time for instruction beyond the time-consuming process of teaching computer skills to beginning or intermediate users. It's more important for students to learn about other things besides skills (Sydney Brown, 1997). Through the use of tutorials, students could learn at their own speed, after scheduled class times, or wherever they had access to a computer and the Web. Therefore class time could be used to develop the conceptual and critical thinking skills important for communications designers. Once these tutorials go on-line, they become part of the virtual library of instructional material and an on-going method for students to continue to develop their skills at their time and convenience even after they've completed the course.

6) Archiving and retrieval of on-line materials. The class Web site included archived materials, such as previous course information, assignments, students, student home pages, and on-line research results. Students could directly build upon the knowledge gained by previous classes. Since this communications graphics class is an elective, the instructor uses the Web site to inform prospective students about its scope and content. Casual surfers can navigate to the class URL and non-majors can also explore some of the departmental offerings. One of the interesting benefits for on-line class information such as this is that it serves as an instant "electronic brochure," for recruiting and information purposes. Students who are interested in transferring from one campus to another, or from one major to another are given the URL in other college literature and can retrieve as much information as they want. This class Web site also gives anyone else an opportunity to look into the course's offerings. Parents, administrators, legislators, prospective students, and colleagues, can easily explore just about any facet of the instruction. Some faculty may find this intimidating, but most will be delighted to be able to share class information in ways never before possible.

7) More customized instruction. These varying degrees of competency are especially evident in advertising skills lab courses such as layout, design and copywriting, where some students are entering with computer proficiencies beyond those of the instructor. The Web's secondary and tertiary resources provided the students with additional areas of study with which they might not have been previously familiar, and for which they might have exceptional aptitude. Some educators,are now calling this synchronous and asynchronous education. Both approaches are worthwhile; and to have an environment in which these can take place was advantageous.

8) Utilizing more natural bio-rhythms. In making as much of a course available 24-hours a day, seven days a week, students and the instructor had the chance to consume information when they were most likely to efficiently process and retain it. By using interactive tools such as an e-mail list or the Web discussion board, questions could be posed at the discretion of the user. The instructor uses on-line communication at home, which meant that e-mails or discussion threads could be edited in the office or at home.

DISCUSSION

This study is not intended to provide any "big news" finding, but to begin to take a few new technological steps into some different teaching methodologies and opportunities. It will be important to continue to query students and instructors about computer attitudes, behaviors, access, likes and dislikes vis a vis classroom instruction. Most likely these attitudes will change as quickly as the technology. As further research is developed and as individual instructional experiences are shared, no doubt Web-based classroom instruction will grow. A number of commercially produced Web-based instructional software are now available, although it will be up to individual faculty to determine whether to create their own version of Web-based materials, or to opt for commercial products. From the experience in this communications graphics class, there are many fertile areas for discussion and further inquiry:

1) Is Web-based instruction best used by itself or in conjunction with traditional classroom methods? It appears from this class' comments that students prefer a combination of traditional paper along with on-line delivery. Even though these students are more Web-savvy and computer proficient than most, and it would be counter-intuitive to think they would not give high scores to this classroom technology, they're still not certain about how on-line instruction fits into their particular learning preferences. The fact is that student and instructor are both learning how to best adapt course information on the Web. There are areas in which on-line interaction, such as the Web discussion group pose exciting new student interaction and communication opportunities, but there are also some downsides. For example, access to the Web discussion board in this class was not password protected, so anyone who knew the URL could post information to the board. There was no evidence of student abuse, but considering the potential for others to post information to the board without permission, or to have students use other's work, there are possible concerns. However, it is relatively easy to build in these user safeguards.

For certain kinds of instruction, such as an advertising graphics course like that in this study, Web based instruction is more of a natural outgrowth of the computer technology students have been having to learn for some time. So, we may see a proliferation of hypermedia activity in these "pre-disposed" courses. The real test will be to see how on-line technologies are introduced into more "low-tech" or traditional content courses.

Ultimately, it will be the responsibility of student and instructor to work together to continue to build materials that maximize student interest and instructional pedagogy. The opportunities to build truly different relationships between faculty and students have never been so rich as they are today and will be as the technology evolves.

2) Does Web-based instruction work for some classes, and not for others? In the case of this communications graphics class, the richness of the Web's visual, textual and information resources make it a natural for further development in advertising and public relations courses. As more classes "go on-line," building a body of data will help us better understand the kinds of courses that work best for Web-based instruction. However, there may be courses in which traditional methods of delivery or classroom instruction are not only adequate, but better than in a hypermedia format. Faculty who want to learn about hypermedia instruction will be challenged to explore new and innovative ways to do this, and even those whose subject matter doesn't lend itself to an on-line method may still feel compelled to develop on-line courses. In this context, both instructor and student will benefit.

3) How do we find the time to develop more Web-based courses? Most of the faculty reluctance to new technology has to do with a lack of time, not a resistance to become more computer proficient or to integrate new technologies into their classroom. Basic computer skills are necessary for faculty to understand the processes of hypertext information and design and how to get it from paper to computer screen. As Web sites become more advanced, interactive and graphically sophisticated students will require more effective and innovative design. Just where is this development going to take place? Should faculty be given additional incentives or leave time to develop the wherewithal to develop Web-based materials for their classes? One relatively simple and immediate answer will be to develop partnerships between faculty and web savvy students. Many campuses are gearing up their instructional technology personnel and high tech classrooms for this very purpose. Collaboration among faculty, students and technology specialists should enhance campus-wide interaction and serve as a common denominator for discussion about teaching, distance education, and new technologies.

4) Who has access to computer classrooms and servers? Web-based instruction can take place only if the classroom is equipped with the proper facilities, and if there is adequate access to servers where information can be loaded. In this study, and in most university advertising programs, classrooms linked to new technology and mass have been standard classroom equipment for several years. But in other, less high tech or skills based programs, faculty and students will need to have access to lab computers if they do not have the equipment at home. Some of the students in this survey expressed the concern about computer access, and until computers are more universally available, computer access will be an impediment to the hypermedia classroom. Some universities, such as the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill are "committed to preparing our students to live and work successfully in the knowledge-based economy of the 21st century," UNC Chancellor Michael Hooker announced in a February 12 news release. Freshmen entering the UNC in 2000 will be required to have laptop computers. The requirement is part of an ongoing effort to enhance the academic curriculum through the use of computers, the Internet, the World Wide Web, e-mail, CD-ROM and other technologies. Nationwide, several public and private campuses are introducing computer requirements as part of a trend that has picked up steam in recently. Georgia Institute of Technology made laptops mandatory for freshmen in the fall of 1997. So have private campuses such as Wake

Forest and Carnegie-Mellon universities. In the summer of 1998, the University of Florida will begin requiring all students to at least have access to a computer. In the fall of 1998, Virginia Tech University will become the first large public campus to require all students to own a computer and Western Carolina University will make computers mandatory for freshmen.

5) How do we develop more effective user and communicator models. Considering the audience, psychological and learning perspectives outlined earlier, perhaps the greatest opportunities for Web-based curriculum and instruction are with the development of more innovative course content and hypermedia design models. Students in this study liked many things about the interactive Web-based course content and design. They liked much of the convenience, the opportunity to save money with on-line readings, the unlimited access to the information at their convenience. The students in this study believed they would benefit from learning more about hypermedia interaction, the comprehension of information, and the opportunity to enhance the learning experience. As we learn more about the interactive, non-linear nature of the Web, we'll learn more about how to put together material to maximize the student's serendipitous involvement with the Web.

In the context of the flow and serendipity of student Web users, additional research will shed light on whether hypermedia truly adds to the classroom pedagogy, with answers to questions like "Is the student really learning something?", or "Is 'flow' just an extended time waster as students jump around, or try to learn a technology they don't like or understand?"

6) Continuing student assessment. Although this study's sample was very small, and it is difficult to make any major generalizations from it, there appeared to be some ambivalence on the part of even computer proficient students about this technology in the classroom. From this data, it's impossible to say why. We may discover that students are less eager about this instructional method than we may presume. The attitude that all young people are embracing the Web may not be valid, at least not at this point in time. An ongoing analysis of past and present student attitudes concerning their assessment of flow, self-efficacy and involvement with the Web will help us better define an appropriate user model, and ultimately help us design Web-based instruction that will enhance classroom approaches.

The data in this study is insufficient to correlate some important criteria, such as grades with specific attitudes about the Web-based materials, such as those who were more satisfied with the on-line syllabus and page design got more A's, or those who used the Web Discussion Board developed more critical thinking skills. Further study can help us determine whether, according to Bazillion and Braun, critical thinking skills are affected, enhanced, reduced or whatever.

7) Finding faculty "comfort zones." Faculty need to find their own level of familiarity with classroom technology and develop an approach, if at all, that works best for them. On most university campuses, it appears that a smaller percentage of faculty are actively engaged in this kind of instruction, while still a majority are not. As some have described the new catch phrases of certain teaching approaches, it is "the sage on the stage," who embraces traditional instruction, and the "guide on the side," who is eager to integrate the new media into the classroom. The forces and advantages of technology are strong, and don't appear to be subsiding. Since instruction in a hypermedia environment can accommodate so many different perspectives–virtually anyone can access it unless it's unlinked or password protected–it will become an incentive for colleges and departments to start to re-think and improve the content and design of many of their courses. Computers and hypermedia instruction can add to the learning that takes place in the classroom. This form of instruction can also take learning to the dorms, the student union, the library–wherever students can log onto a computer. All of this should greatly enhance the quality of education, in delivery, content, design and ultimately learning.

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Information Processing of Web Advertising:

Modified Elaboration Likelihood Model

by

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AEJMC: Advertising and Qualitative Studies Poster Session

Information Processing of Web Advertising:

Modified Elaboration Likelihood Model

This paper develops Modified Elaboration Likelihood Model to understand how people process advertising on the Internet. An empirical study verifies this model by examining several variables influencing voluntary exposure (i.e., clicking of banners); for example, level of product involvement, the size of a banner ad, relevancy between the content of a vehicle and the product category of a banner ad, attitude toward the vehicle, and overall attitude toward Web advertising. The findings document significant relationships between these variables and voluntary exposure (i.e., clicking of banners) and support the hypothesized model.

Introduction

The growth of the Internet has been exponential. By the end of 1996, there were 10 million hosts on the Internet that connected 105,000 networks (Cyber Atlas, 1996 at URL: http://www.cyberatlas.com/news.html), supporting the total Internet users, estimated between 32 million and 50 million worldwide (Forrester Research 1996, 1997 at URL: http://www.forrester.com). The numbers are doubling every year (Forrester Research, 1996 at URL: http://www.forrester.com). Among the many segments of the Internet, advertising is becoming the one with the greatest growth, with 129.5 million online in the first quarter, an increase of 18% from the preceding quarter (IAB 1997, at URL: http://www.iab.net). Jupiter Communications (URL://www.webtrack.com) has recently projected the advertising expenditure for the Internet to grow to $5 billion by the year 2000. With the advent of the new Internet World Wide Web (WWW) as an advertising medium, understanding how people process advertising on the WWW has become the critical demand of Web advertisers. But there has been little research on advertising processing on the WWW.

This paper reexamines several existing theories about how advertising works in traditional media and then explores how they can be adjusted to explain information processing of Web advertising. The main theory is the Elaboration Likelihood Model (ELM), which will be applied to build a new model called Modified Elaboration Likelihood Model. To verify the new model, several hypotheses will be postulated and they will be empirically tested through an experiment.

Literature Review

Many researchers have formulated different models of the stages or hierarchy consumers go through before they ultimately purchase a particular brand. These models are called hierarchy-of-effects models. The hierarchy-of-effects model was first developed by Lavidge and Steinger in 1961, even though the term itself was first used by Plalda in 1966 to refer to Lavidge and Steinger's work (Barry, 1987). Lavidge and Steinger (1961) formulated six steps consumers follow before actual purchasing: 1) awareness, 2) knowledge, 3) liking, 4) preference, 5) conviction, and 6) purchase. Following this research, there have been many research studies on how advertising works; e.g., Krugman (1965), Ray et al.(1973), Houston and Rothschild (1978), Vaughn (1979), Petty and Cacioppo (1983), and so on. Among these research studies, Petty and Cacioppo's (1983) Elaboration Likelihood Model (ELM) is considered to be the most recent and comprehensive model incorporating involvement into the information processing of advertising messages. Figure 1 shows the step-by-step process of central and peripheral routes to persuasion in the ELM.

The hierarchy-of-effects models are conceptually useful and thus have been accepted by many advertising academicians and practitioners until today (Preston, 1982). With the advent of the new interactive communication media, such as the Internet, however, the applicability of the existing advertising theories to the Internet is questionable because of different characteristics of the Internet (two-way interaction) from those of other traditional media (one-way exposure). Then, what are the differences between the Internet and traditional media in terms of consumers' advertising process?

Traditional hierarchy-of-effects models assume that the very first stage of the persuasion process is awareness through advertising exposure. Here, advertising exposure is involuntary and/or incidental because individuals involuntarily just happen to come across an ad in traditional media. In contrast, advertising exposure in the Internet can be either involuntary or voluntary, depending on the types of Web advertising.

There are many different types of Web advertising (e.g., banner ads, paid hyperlinks, corporate site, personal site with selling attempts, paid icons, etc.). Two current dominant forms are 1) "banner ads" and 2) "target ads" or linked sites from the banner ads (Hoffman et al., 1995). For banner ads, the traditional involuntary exposure concept can be applied; that is, banner ads on the Web are nothing but the traditional passive form of noninteractive advertising unless they are clicked and move users into the separate target ads. If the users are only exposed to the banners ads but do not click them to open to see linked target ads, it can be said that they are not interacting with the advertising messages or the advertisers, i.e., this is traditional one-way involuntary communication from advertisers to consumers.

As long as consumers voluntarily perform an action (i.e., clicking banners) to see the content of advertising messages, information processing is more active and intensive than passive exposure without voluntary action. This voluntary exposure will draw more attention to the messages and activate the cognitive learning process more intensively than involuntary exposure. In this sense, advertising exposure in the Internet is more voluntary or sought-out than traditional media because it requires more commitment with voluntary action (clicking). That is, communication in traditional media does not require voluntary action for active information processing; it is just a one-way passive process with no extra voluntary action (i.e., clicking banner ads) other than purchase. For example, even though people can read an headline and then decide to continue reading ads or not in magazine advertising, continuing reading ads does not require any extra action with more commitment (i.e., clicking and waiting for the full download). In contrast, consumers in the Internet must voluntarily perform an extra action for an active, conscious, and cognitive information process. In other words, in the Internet, voluntary action (i.e., clicking banners) is a pre-condition of active cognitive information processing.

After the initial action (i.e., clicking banners), consumers have the choice to perform more actions for further active information processing by interacting with messages (e.g., clicking to deeper sites, searching contents, providing feedback, purchasing products on-line, etc.). In this sense, more intensive and active information processing requires more interactions between consumers and messages or between consumers and advertisers. Therefore, we can say that information processing in the Internet requires more conscious cognitive effort, because the medium itself requires action to process information; that is, information processing in the Internet is more action-oriented and more interactive than that in traditional media.

This cognitive learning process through voluntary action in the Internet is more complex than that through nonaction-oriented, involuntary exposure in the traditional media. Consumers can take many different actions during the information processing: for example, they can click away from the messages whenever they want; they can search the content of messages; they can provide feedback to advertisers at the same time as their exposure; they can save the content of advertising messages or bookmark advertising sites for future reference or voluntary repeated exposure; and more.

Another difference of information processing in the Internet from that in the traditional media is the increased possibility of short-term advertising effects. In the traditional hierarchy-of-effects models (the high involvement learning model), product purchase is the ultimate stage of the communication process resulting from a series of pre-steps (awareness, knowledge, liking, preference, and conviction), and purchase usually takes place long after consumers' exposure to advertising messages. In other words, in traditional hierarchy models, it is believed that advertising effects occur not in the short-term but in the long-term, where consumers go through a series of steps between unawareness of a particular brand and the actual purchasing of that brand. But in the Internet, purchase can take place at the same time as their exposure to advertising messages or within a relatively short period of time because consumers can place an order or request additional information (e.g., different models, price, etc.) directly via the medium (the Internet) rather than having to order through another method.[i]

Based on the above-mentioned differences of information processing in the Internet from that in traditional media, it is possible to modify the traditional ELM for information processing in the Internet. The modified ELM for consumer processing of Internet advertising is shown in Figure 2. The following section will discuss individual steps of the modified ELM for Internet advertising.

Modified ELM for Web Advertising

Vehicle Exposure

As seen in Figure 1, the very first step in the information process in the ELM is persuasive communication. The model does not describe how consumers are exposed to persuasive communication and what variables mediate advertising exposure; that is, it does not differentiate ad exposure from vehicle exposure and does not explain certain mediating variables influencing advertising exposure. As Preston (1985) argued in his work, most measurement of advertising exposure had, in practice, been based on vehicle exposure, even though there are big differences between the two. To differentiate advertising exposure from vehicle exposure, the researcher specified vehicle exposure as the very first step of the model, while understanding that, in a strict sense, the advertising process begins only with advertising exposure. That is, the first step of the advertising process in the Internet is *exposure to the vehicle* on which ads are placed.

Opportunity to Process (Involuntary Exposure to Banner Ad)

During the vehicle exposure (exposure to the home Web site where banner ads are placed), consumers may or may not be exposed to banner ads. This second step of the Modified ELM is called the "opportunity to process or being exposed to banner ads involuntarily." Many variables mediate this opportunity to process (involuntary exposure to banner ads). One important mediating variable is the downloading time taken to receive messages in the vehicle and advertising. Many factors affect downloading times: 1) server's capacity, 2) modem speed, 3) file size, and 4) number of visitors at a specific time. If it takes too long to receive messages (downloading files), consumers may not wait to retrieve the messages and click away from the site. Therefore, vehicle exposure and ad exposure are affected by downloading times.

Another mediating variable affecting involuntary exposure to banner ads is the position of banner ads. When banner ads are located at the bottom of the site, consumers may not notice even the ads unless they scroll down to surf the whole site. The chance is that the information consumers are looking for in the vehicle is located at the top or middle of the Web site, so that consumers don't have to scroll down to the bottom of the site and are thus not exposed to banner ads located at the bottom of the site. This is another reason why vehicle exposure and ad exposure are not the same.

Level of Product and Personal Involvement (Motivation to Process)

As long as consumers have an opportunity to be exposed to a banner ad, they have two choices: 1) to click the banner ad to request more information or 2) not to click it. The clicking of the banner ad is totally voluntary. Then, what are the variables determining the clicking of banners? The most important determining factor of clicking a banner is the level of personal and product involvement. In the traditional ELM (Figure 1), involvement was conceptually defined as "motivation" and "ability" to process advertising messages. But in the early stage of involuntary exposure to banner ads (before clicking banners), only *motivation* to process ad content would be appropriate because banner ads usually do not contain much information, so that ability to process (e.g., message comprehensibility) is not required at this stage. Ability to process would work as an important factor in the later stages of voluntary exposure to target ads (i.e., a linked site after clicking banners). In short, motivation to process ad content (i.e., level of involvement) is the most important determining factor for banner clickability.

Voluntary Exposure (Clicking Banners)

Clicking banners is a voluntary action for the purpose of seeing more detailed advertising messages by requesting more information. This voluntary exposure to advertising messages is highly dependent on consumers' level of personal and product involvement.

1) High Involvement

In high-involvement (high product and personal involvement) situations, consumers have high motivation to process advertising messages due to high personal relevance, high product involvement, and high need for cognition. In these situations, consumers are more likely to demand greater information to satisfy their intrinsic need for information and cognition; that is, they are more likely to request more information by clicking banners in order to see detailed ad content than consumers in low-involvement situations. This can be called the central route to voluntary exposure (clicking banners). Thus, the following hypothesis can be postulated:

> H1: People in high-involvement situations are more likely to click banner ads in order to request more information than those in low involvement situations.

2) Low Involvement

In contrast to high-involvement situations, consumers in low involvement (low personal and product involvement) have low motivation to process advertising messages due to low personal relevance and low need for cognition. Therefore, they are less likely to request more information, i.e., less likely to click banners to see more detailed information. However, they follow another route to clicking banners--the peripheral route to voluntary exposure. When consumers are not highly motivated to process further ad content, they do not want to engage in message-related thinking; rather they are more likely to focus on available peripheral cues. In other words, favorability of peripheral cues will influence clickability of banner ads in low-involvement situations. In the case of banner ads, attention-getting or curiosity-generating peripheral cues would be novelty- or contrast-related components of banner ads, such as 1) large-sized banner, 2) bright colors, and 3) attention-getting animation.

The size of the stimulus is an important factor that can affect attention. Obviously, larger ads are more likely to be noticed than smaller ones. Thus, a full-page ad will have a higher chance of drawing attention than a half- or quarter-page ad. Likewise, a larger banner ad will draw more attention than a smaller banner ad. The theory underlying this rationale is that the increase in attention is in proportion to the square root of the increase in space (Rossiter and Percy, 1980). That is, if an ad is made four times bigger, attention will double. Therefore, a larger banner ad will work as a better peripheral cue to draw low-involved people's attention than a smaller banner ad. This theoretical linkage postulates the following hypothesis:

> H2a: In low-involvement situations, people are more likely to click a banner ad when it has a larger size than average banner ads.

Similarly, dynamic animation on banner ads will also work as a good peripheral cue to draw low-involved people's attention. This reasoning leads to the following hypothesis:

> H2b: In low-involvement situations, people are more likely to click a banner ad when it has dynamic animation than when it has no dynamic animation.

However, in high-involvement situations, peripheral cues of banner ads do not make any difference in the clicking of banner ads.

> H2c: In high-involvement situations, the size of banner ads makes no difference in clicking of banner ads.

> H2d: In high-involvement situations, dynamic animation makes no difference in clicking of banner ads.

Other Mediating Variables Affecting Voluntary Exposure

There are many other variables mediating voluntary exposure to target ads (linked sites from banner ads) besides the level of involvement. The following are those mediating variables affecting clickability of banner ads:

1) Relevancy Between Vehicle and Ad

Advertisements can be placed on any advertising vehicles. However, the effect of advertising is believed to be maximum when the contents of the advertising vehicle are relevant to the product categories of the advertisements placed on the vehicle. This is true for banner ads in the Internet, too. The effects of banner ads may be minimal when the product categories of banner ads are irrelevant to the contents of the Web site where the banner ads are placed. One of the reasons for this need for relevancy when placing ads is that audiences of an advertising vehicle who are exposed to the vehicle voluntarily, because they are interested in the contents of the vehicle, are more likely to read ads when the ads match with their interests. In other words, ads placed on a specific advertising vehicle are more likely to be read by the audiences of the vehicle when product categories of the ads match with the contents of the vehicle. For example, audiences of C|Net [ii], who visit the site to see the contents (i.e., computer-related information), are more likely to click banner ads for computer-related products on that site (e.g., PC, printers, software, etc.) than for other, irrelevant banner ads (e.g., clothing, soft drinks, etc.). This conceptualization leads to the following hypothesis (H3):

> H3: The banner ad with higher relevance between its product category and the contents of the site where the ad is placed will generate more clicking of the banner.

2) Attitude Toward the Vehicle

Another mediating variable affecting voluntary exposure (clicking of banner ads) is general attitude toward the vehicle where the banner ads are placed. In traditional advertising, audiences who have a more favorable attitude toward a vehicle have a more favorable attitude toward the ads placed on the vehicle--attitude transparency from vehicle to ads. Similarly, in Internet advertising, visitors who have a more favorable attitude toward the vehicle (the home ad site where banner ads are placed) have a more favorable attitude toward banner ads on the vehicle, so that they are more likely to click the banner ads. However, this effect of attitude transparency from vehicle to ads will occur only when there is high relevancy between a vehicle and the ads placed on the vehicle (i.e., relevancy between the contents of the vehicle and the product categories of the banner ads). For example, if a person has a favorable attitude toward C|Net, he/she is more likely to transfer his/her favorable attitude to a banner ad for IBM Thinkpad than for Levi's, because he/she likes the computer-related contents of C|Net, which might make him/her like computer-related ads on C|Net, too.

Therefore, it is hypothesized that there is an interaction effect of two variables (relevancy and attitude transparency) on clickability of banner ads:

> H4: People who have a more favorable attitude toward a vehicle (home Web site) are more likely to click the banner ads on that site only when the product categories of the banner ads are relevant to the contents of the Web site.

3) Overall Attitude Toward Web Advertising

Another mediating variable affecting voluntary exposure (clicking of banner ads) is the overall attitude toward Web advertising. This is another case of attitude transparency. In traditional advertising, audiences who have a more favorable attitude toward advertising overall may have a more favorable attitude toward a specific ad--attitude transparency from whole to part. Similarly, in Web advertising, people who have a more favorable attitude toward Web advertising overall may have a more favorable attitude toward a banner ad and thus be more likely to click the banner ad. This reasoning leads to the following hypotheses:

> H5a: People who have more a favorable attitude toward Web advertising overall are more likely to click banner ads.
>
> H5b: People who have a more favorable attitude toward Web advertising overall have a more favorable attitude toward a banner ad.

Active and Voluntary Cognitive Processing of Detailed Ad Content

Similar to exposure to banner ads, exposure to target ads is also affected by downloading time. If it takes too long to download the target ads, people will click away or bookmark it for future browsing. As long as people voluntarily click banner ads and are exposed to the detailed advertising messages (the first linked page by clicking banner ads), they start voluntary and active cognitive processing of advertising messages. This active cognitive processing is on a more conscious level than the information processing through involuntary exposure to traditional advertising, because people perform an action (i.e., clicking banner ads) totally voluntarily to process advertising messages. This voluntariness is true, regardless of whether people click the banner ads because they are highly motivated to process (i.e., high involvement) or they click because of the favorability of peripheral cues (low involvement). But the two different involvement situations yield two different routes to persuasion, as is true in the traditional ELM: 1) central routes and 2) peripheral routes to persuasion. The difference between the traditional ELM and the Modified ELM is the degree of activeness and consciousness in processing advertising messages. That is, the Modified ELM for Web advertising has more active and more conscious cognitive processing than the traditional ELM, because exposure to advertising messages (clicking banner ads) is totally voluntary in the Modified ELM.

1) High Involvement

In high-involvement situations, the ability to process is the necessary condition for active cognitive processing of advertising messages. As is true in the traditional ELM, several factors determine the ability to process detailed advertising messages on the first linked page from banner ads: "distraction," "message comprehensibility," "issue familiarity," "appropriate schema," etc.

First, if people are unable to process advertising information, they cannot start active message-related cognitive processing. In this situation (high involvement but no ability to process), as is true in the traditional ELM, people will turn their attention to peripheral aspects of advertising messages such as an attractive source, music, humor, visuals, etc. Contrariwise, when people have the ability to process, they start active and conscious cognitive processing or message-related cognitive thinking. As is true in the traditional ELM, there are two determining factors in this cognitive processing: 1) the initial attitude and 2) the argument quality of advertising messages. These two factors interact with each other so that they yield three different outcomes: 1) "favorable thoughts predominate," 2) "unfavorable thoughts predominate," and 3) "neither or neutral thoughts predominate."

In the case of the last outcome (neutral thoughts), people change to the peripheral route to persuasion by focusing on peripheral cues. If they like peripheral cues, they will temporarily shift their attitude; otherwise, they will retain their initial attitude. However, for the first two outcomes (either favorable or unfavorable thoughts predominate), people experience "cognitive structure changes," where two procedures occur: 1) "new cognitions can be adopted and stored in memory" and/or 2) "different responses are made more salient than previously." Based on this change in cognitive structure, people can have two different types of attitude change: 1) an enduring positive attitude change (persuasion) for those who have predominant favorable thoughts and 2) an enduring negative attitude change (boomerang) for those who have predominant unfavorable thoughts.

2) Low Involvement

Compared to people in high involvement situations, according to the traditional ELM, those in low-involvement situations are less likely to engage in message-related thinking; rather, they engage in peripheral cues present in ads. This theory can be directly applied to the Internet. In other words, people in low-involvement situations who clicked banner ads (voluntary exposure), because of the favorability of peripheral aspects of the banner ads, do not engage in active cognitive processing. Rather, they focus on peripheral cues present in the advertising messages of the first linked site from a banner ad. If they don't like the peripheral cues, they will click away from the site--stop of voluntary exposure. In this case, they retain initial attitude they had before exposure to the ad. But if the peripheral cues in the first linked site from the banner are favorable, then "peripheral attitude shift" will occur.

Central or Peripheral Attitude Change

1) High Involvement

According to the traditional ELM, when an attitude is formed on the basis of active cognitive processing (i.e., central routes with high elaboration), it endures longer and is more likely to predict behavior than when an attitude is formed through low elaboration. In other words, when people have actively processed information, the attitude is more likely to be based on strongly held beliefs, thereby resulting in a stronger conviction. This theory about attitude duration and the attitude-behavior relationship can be linked to cognitive processing of messages in Web advertising. That is, more active cognitive processing or higher-elaboration processing may yield 1) higher duration of attitude and 2) higher predictive power for future purchase than low-elaboration processing. Here, more active cognitive processing can be conceptually defined as the level of interactivity with advertising messages and advertisers. Examples of high level of interactivity are 1) clicking into deeper sites searching for more information, 2) providing feedback to advertisers, and 3) saving the contents (i.e., bookmarking) for future reference.

2) Low Involvement

As mentioned before, in low involvement situations, people will have a "peripheral attitude shift" if the peripheral cues in the first linked site from the banner are favorable. But this peripheral attitude shift through low elaboration is less likely to endure and to predict reflective behavior than attitude change through high elaboration.

Methodology

To test the above hypotheses, a between-group experimental design was used. The experiment was an off-line experiment with forced exposure manipulation. According to Preston (1985), the perfect advertising effectiveness measure should be related to the actual behavior. Similarly, the most concrete measure of clicking of banner ads is looking at users' actual behavior, i.e., click-through data. However, recognizing the difficulty of getting the actual click-through data, this study employed a mental measure of clicking, i.e., people's self-reported intention to click banner ads. Many previous research studies on advertising effectiveness have used various mental measures, such as recall, self-reported attitude toward the ad and the brand, and purchase intention.

A total of 203 undergraduate students in a large southwestern university, divided into two experimental groups, participated in the experiment. The experiment employed a between-group subject design, where each subject was randomly exposed to only one of two experimental treatments (I or II). Each subject was exposed to a set of banner ads and Web sites based on his/her experimental group (I or II).

Before each subject was exposed to experimental materials (three Web sites and three banner ads), each subject's level of involvement to several product categories was measured. The question items assessed personal relevance and product involvement of several product categories. Three of them were actual product categories used in the experiment (i.e., computers, modems, and soft drinks) and two were not used in the experiment (i.e., automobiles, shoes, and telephones). After this pre-measure of involvement, each subject in each experimental group was given a questionnaire to answer that was divided into three parts. For Part I, each subject was asked to answer questions concerning his/her attitude toward three Web sites and the banner ad placed on each site. First, each subject saw the very first Web site, including a banner ad located at the top of the site, and was asked to respond to several items measuring his/her attitude toward the Web site, self-reported probability of clicking banners, and attitude toward the banner ad on that site. After completing the question items for the first site and the banner ad, each subject was exposed to the second site, including a banner ad located at the top of the site, and then again asked to fill out the question items corresponding to this site and the banner ad. Each subject followed the same procedure for the third site.

After completing Part I, each subject was asked to continue with Part II of the questionnaire, which asked some questions concerning his/her overall attitude toward advertising and attitude toward Web advertising in general. Last, each subject moved onto Part III, which asked him/her several questions about his/her demographic information. The participation for each subject took approximately 25 minutes.

According to Mitchell (1986), professionally developed ads rather than mock ads are encouraged to be used in experimental research in order to elicit a more natural response from the subjects. Following this suggestion, professionally developed Web sites and banner ads were used in this experiment. A total of six banner ads were used in this experiment, three for each experimental group. Table 1.0 summarizes the three experimental banner ads for each experimental group (you can also see the sample ads at http://uts.cc.utexas.edu/~ccho/AEJMC/ELM/samplead.html).

Results

This study used a between-group experimental design because of its advantage; that is, there is no chance of one treatment contaminating the other, since the same subject never receives both treatments. However, the between-subject design must content with the possibility that the subjects in the two groups are different enough to influence the effects of the treatment. To guarantee that as few differences as possible exist between two groups, the researcher compared the groups in terms of their demographics and Internet usage. Table 1.1 indicates that two groups are very similar in terms of age, gender, major, Internet-surfing hours, and the purpose of surfing the Internet. Therefore, the results eliminate the possibility that the subjects in the two groups are different enough to influence the effects of the treatments (e.g., large vs. small banner ads, animation vs. no animation, etc.).

H1: People in high-involvement situations are more likely to click banner ads in order to request more information than those in low-involvement situations.

To determine whether the two groups (high vs. low involvement people) had a significantly different intention to click the banner ad, the research used between-group t-tests. Three different analyses were conducted based on three different product categories used in the experiment (computers, modems, and soft drinks). Table 1.2 shows the mean of intention to click the banner ads for IBM Thinkpad, US Robotics, and Gatorade. The mean clicking-intention score of high involvement subjects is significantly higher than that of low involvement subjects for all three products (M=3.4 vs. M=2.8 for the IBM Thinkpad ad, M=2.7 vs. M=2.3 for the US Robotics modem, and M=2.9 vs. M=2.5 for the Gatorade ad). All results were statistically significant ($p \leq .01$). Therefore, H1 is supported.

H2a: In low-involvement situations, people are more likely to click a banner ad when it has a larger size than average banner ads.

First, based on their personal and product involvement level, 75 out of 203 subjects are categorized into low involvement people. To determine whether two different size ads for the same product (a large and a small US Robotics ad) had a significantly different possibility to be clicked by these 75 low-involved people, the researcher used a between-group t-test. Table 2.1 shows the mean scores of the two banner ads for US Robotics (large and small size banner ad) in terms of intention to click. The mean score of large banner ad (M=2.6) is higher than that of small banner ad (M=2.1). The result was statistically significant ($p \leq .01$) and H2a is supported.

H2b: In low-involvement situations, people are more likely to click a banner ad when it has dynamic animation than when it has no dynamic animation.

To determine whether two different animation ads for the same product (an animated and a static Gatorade ad) had a significantly different possibility to be clicked by these 103 low-involved people, the researcher used a between-group t-test. Table 2.2 shows the mean scores of the two banner ads for Gatorade ad (animated and no-animated banner ad) for intention to click. The mean score of animated Gatorade banner ad (M=2.8) is significantly higher than that of static Gatorade banner ad (M=2.3). The result is statistically significant ($p \leq .01$) and H2b is supported.

H2c & H2d: In high-involvement situations, both the size and dynamic animation of banner ads make no difference in clicking of banner ads.

To check whether high-involved people are also more likely to click the large banner ad and the animated banner ad, the researcher used another between-group t-test. As shown in table 2.3, for high-involved people, there was no significant difference in intention to click between the large and the small banner ad. Similarly, as shown in table 2.4, for high-involved people, there was no significant difference in intention to click between the animated and the static banner ad. The results imply that both the size and dynamic animation of banner ads are not important factors influencing intention to click banner ads for high-involved people. Therefore, H2c and H2d are both supported.

H3: The banner ad with higher relevance between its product category and the contents of the site where the ad is placed will generate more clicking of the banner.

To determine whether the banner ad with higher relevance is more likely to be clicked by people, the researcher used a between-group t-test. Here, the banner ad with high relevance and low relevance were IBM Thinkpad ad placed on C|Net site and the same ad placed on ESPN Sports Zone site respectively. Table 3 shows the mean scores of the ad with high relevance and the ad with low relevance. The mean score of high-relevance banner ad (M=3.3) is higher than that of low-relevance banner ad (M=2.9). The result was statistically significant ($p \leq .01$) and H3 is supported.

H4: People who have a more favorable attitude toward a vehicle (home Web site) are more likely to click the banner ads on that site only when the product categories of the banner ads are relevant to the contents of the Web site.

High-relevance banner ads include 1) US Robotics ad on C|Net site, 2) IBM Thinkpad ad on C|Net site, and 3) Gatorade ad on sports section of Infoseek site. To test whether people who have more favorable attitude toward a vehicle where the ad is placed are more likely to click the banner ads for the three high-relevance banner ads, three one-way ANOVA were used. The independent variable is SAS (Site Attitude Score), which is the sum of twelve Likert scores measuring the attitude toward the site. The independent variable, SAS (i.e., the sum of the twelve Likert scores), was then categorized into two levels: high and low attitude scores (above and below the median

SAS). The dependent variable is one Likert scale variable that measures each subject's intention to click the banner ad.

Table 4.1 and 4.2 show the result of ANOVA for the US Robotics ad and the IBM Thinkpad ad on C|Net site respectively. It indicates that there is a significant main effect of C|Net's SAS (Site Attitude Score) on the clickability of the US Robotics banner ad ($F = 9.30^*$, d.f.= 1,196, $p \leq .01$) and on the clickability of the IBM Thinkpad ad ($F = 20.77^*$, d.f.= 1,196, $p \leq .01$). Table 4.3 also shows that there is a significant main effect of Infoseek's SAS (Site Attitude Score) on the clickability of the Gatorade banner ad ($F = 11.21^*$, d.f.= 1,196, $p \leq .01$). The results imply that people who have more favorable attitude toward C|Net site are more likely to click the banner ads placed on the site. That is, there is attitude transfer from the site to the banner ad when the ad and the site are relevant to each other.

However, compared to the above three results of three high-relevance banner ads, the result of ANOVA for low-relevance banner ad shows no relationship between attitude toward the site and clickability of the banner ad placed on the site. The example of low-relevance banner ad is IBM Thinkpad ad placed on ESPN Sports Zone site. Table 4.4 shows that there is no significant main effect of ESPN Sports Zone's SAS (Site Attitude Score) on the clickability of the IBM Thinkpad banner ad ($F = 3.16$, d.f.= 1,196, $p > .01$). This means that people who have more favorable attitude toward ESPN Sports Zone site are not more likely to click the banner ad (i.e., IBM Thinkpad ad) placed on the site. That is, there is no attitude transfer from the site to the banner ad when the ad and the site are not relevant to each other.

These results indicate that those who have more favorable attitude toward the home ad site are more likely to have higher intention to click the banner ad on that site, but this is only when the product category of the banner is relevant to the contents of the site the ad is placed. Therefore, H4 is supported.

H5a: People who have a more favorable attitude toward Web advertising overall are more likely to click banner ads.

Table 5.1 shows the relationship between the variable of "intention to click" and five variables measuring attitude toward Web advertising. As shown in Table 5.1, the two groups of subjects (high vs. low intention to click banner ads) have the greatest difference in terms of the three highlighted variables. "Web advertising is valuable in general" has the largest standardized coefficient, suggesting that this is the most important variable separating two groups (high vs. low intention to click). "Web Advertising supplies valuable information" and "Web advertising is necessary" are also important discriminators of the two groups. Wilks' Lambda equals .85 in this analysis. The average score for a group (group centroid) was - .41 and .42 for people with low intention and people with high intention to click banner ads respectively.

H5b: People who have a more favorable attitude toward Web advertising overall have a more favorable attitude toward a banner ad.

To determine whether two groups (those who have unfavorable attitude vs. favorable attitude toward Web advertising) had a significantly different attitude toward banner ads, the researcher used MANOVA. The results in Table 5.2 indicate the greatest disparity in the favorability of the Gatorade ad between two groups is found in "Gatorade ad has good visual effects." That is, "Gatorade ad has good visual effects" variable contributes most to the overall differences in attitude toward the ad between two groups. This means that those who have favorable attitude toward Web advertising are more likely to favor Gatorade ad's visual aspects. The favorability of Web advertising has also a significant effect on "Gatorade ad is irritating" "I like Gatorade ad," "Gatorade ad is eye-catching," "Gatorade ad draws my attention," and "I would enjoy seeing the ad again." The results are statistically significant ($p \leq .01$).

Other Interesting Findings

Table 6.1 shows the results of a factor analysis for IBM Thinkpad ad using eight checklist variables that measure attitude toward the banner ad. The figures are rotated loadings resulting from a Varimax rotation of the factor axes. As shown in table 6.1, the eight checklist items measuring attitude toward IBM Thinkpad ad were grouped into three factors : Factor I was visual-effects, Factor II was seeing-again, and Factor III was informativeness. The variables were grouped under the factor of which they had the highest correlation coefficient (factor loadings shown in **bold**). Grouping the eight variables into these three factors retained 86 percent of the original total variance of the eight variables. Table 6.2 shows the mean surfing-hours per week of female and male respondents. The mean of male respondents ($M = 4.2$ hours) is higher than that of female respondents ($M = 3.1$ hours). The result was statistically significant ($p \leq .05$).

Conclusion

This paper mainly explored two different routes from involuntary exposure to attitude formation: 1) central routes for high-involvement situations and 2) peripheral routes for low-involvement situations. This paper also looked at three mediating variables affecting voluntary exposure (clicking banner ads): 1) relevance between contents of the Web site and product categories of banner ads, 2) attitude toward a home Web site on which banner ads are placed, 3) overall attitude toward Web advertising. Based on this Modified ELM, this paper generated 7 hypotheses, and all hypotheses were empirically supported.

This study is pioneering in the sense that it is the first formal research on information processing of advertising on the WWW. However, the greatest weakness of this study is that the samples are not representative to the general population even though college students are one of the largest segments of Internet users. The picture would have been different if the research drew the samples from the general population. Another weakness of this study is that mental measures (i.e., intention to click banner ads) do not usually represent actual behavioral measures (i.e., actual click-throughs). Therefore, it would be valuable to study actual clicking behaviors of the general population.

It would be also valuable to empirically test other aspects or stages of the Modified ELM not tested in the current study. For example, according to Modified ELM, more active cognitive processing or higher-elaboration processing is supposed to yield 1) higher duration of attitude and 2) higher predictive power for future purchase than low-elaboration processing. Here, more active cognitive processing can be conceptually defined as the level of interactivity with advertising messages and advertisers. Examples of high level of interactivity are 1) clicking into deeper sites searching for more information, 2) providing feedback to advertisers, and 3) saving the contents (i.e., bookmarking) for future reference. This rational generates the following hypotheses for future research:

> Future Hypothesis 1a: In high-involvement situations, people doing a higher level of interactivity will have a more enduring positive or negative attitude change.
>
> Future Hypothesis 1b: In high involvement situations, people doing a higher level of interactivity will be more likely to demonstrate behaviors reflecting their attitude change (e.g., purchase the advertised product if they have a positive attitude change).

There are several possible operational measures of the amount of interactivity in these hypotheses. The length of stay in an interaction ad (i.e., a linked site from a banner ad) can be used as an operational measure of the different amount of interactivity, because the more people interact with the ad, the more likely that they will stay longer in the ad. However, caution needs to be taken when using length of stay as an observable measure of amount of interactivity because of possible artificial inflation in this measure. For example, a consumer can be distracted from an interaction ad by a phone call or a knock on the door, making him/her to attend to other tasks while the ad is still up on the screen. Another measure of advertising exposure as amount of interaction is the number of pages or screens the users click into. The deeper users click into the sites (visiting more linked sites), the more they interact with the ad.

To test these hypotheses, multiple methods with multiple kinds of data, as suggested in Williams et al's (1988) *Research Methods and the New Media*, can be employed in the future research. That is, a simulation-based experiment in a laboratory setting can be used. It can combine online and offline measurement techniques (unobtrusive capturing of usage data with online techniques, and possible control and manipulation as in offline assessment). In other words, this future experiment may allow careful observation of subjects' activities during the experiments to measure levels of interactivity (e.g., # of clickings, duration time, # of pages, etc.) so that a future researcher can test the effects of different levels of interactivity on the duration of attitude change and reflective behavior (Future H1a and H1b).

Despite the increasing significance of Internet advertising, there has been no research on consumers' information processing of Internet advertising. In this sense, this paper provides some groundwork in this field. Most studies on Internet advertising have been conducted by Web publishers on audience measurement data, i.e., how many people visit their sites, or how many people are exposed to banner ads, etc. But this kind of result-oriented data does not provide the understanding of consumers' step-by-step information processing, e.g., why people click banner ads and why they click one banner ad more than another. In conclusion, information processing of Internet advertising is too important to leave unstudied, therefore, more future studies on this area are strongly recommended.

Table 1.0

Experimental Stimuli (Banner Ads) for each experimental group

Group I (n=102)	Group II (n=101)
IBM Thinkpad ad in ESPN Sports Zone	IBM Thinkpad ad in C|Net
Large US Robotics ad in C|Net	Small US Robotics ad in C|Net
Animated Gatorade ad in Infoseek	Non-animated Gatorade ad in Infoseek

**For Group I (102 subjects), the first banner ad was an IBM Thinkpad ad placed at the top of ESPN Sports Zone, which served as a low relevancy ad because the product category of the ad (computers) was irrelevant to the contents of the vehicle (sports-related information). The second banner ad was a large US Robotics Modem ad placed at the top of a C|Net site, which served as a large banner ad. The last ad for experimental group I was an animated Gatorade ad placed at the top of an Infoseek site, which served as an animated ad.

**For experimental group II (101 subjects), the same procedure was followed. The experimental banner ad was an IBM Thinkpad ad placed at the top of a C|Net site. This ad served as a high relevancy ad because the product category (computers) was relevant to the contents of the vehicle, C|Net (computer-related information). The second banner ad was a small US Robotics Modem ad placed at the top of the C|Net site. This ad served as a small banner ad. The third banner ad was a static Gatorade ad placed at the top of the Infoseek site.

Table 1.1

The comparison of two experimental groups

	Group I (n=102)	Group II (n=101)
Mean age	21.4	20.2
Gender (female / male)	58/44	54/47
Major (chemistry / others)	88 / 13	89 / 12
Average surfing hours per week	3.51	3.28
Purpose of surfing	Information (39) Entertainment (16) Product Service (4)	Information (45) Entertainment (19) Product Service (9)

N=203

Table 1.2

The relationship between the level of involvement and Intention to Click Banner Ads

	Variables	Number of Cases	Intention to click Mean(Std. dev.)	t-value
Computer (IBM Thinkpad)	low involvement	100	2.8(.8)	**5.10***
	high involvement	99	3.4(.8)	
Modem (US Robotics ad)	low involvement	75	2.3(.8)	**2.75***
	high involvement	124	2.7(.9)	
Soft Drinks (Gatorade ad)	low involvement	103	2.5(.8)	**2.63***
	high involvement	96	2.9(.9)	

$p \leq .01$

**Intention to click banner ads was measured by 5-point Likert item of "I will click the banner ad to further see the detailed description of the ad"

Table 2.1
The relationship between size of banner ad and intention to click in low involvement

Size of banner ad	Number of Cases	Intention to Click Mean(Std. dev)	t-value
Small	36	2.1(.6)	**3.19***
Large	39	2.6(.8)	

$p \leq .01$

**Intention to click banner ads was measured by 5-point Likert item of "I will click the banner ad to further see the detailed description of the ad"

Table 2.2
The relationship between animation of banner ad and intention to click in low involvement

Animation	Number of Cases	Intention to click Mean(Std. dev)	t-value
Animated	51	2.8(.7)	**3.32***
Static	52	2.3(.9)	

$p \leq .01$

**Intention to click banner ads was measured by 5-point Likert item of "I will click the banner ad to further see the detailed description of the ad"

Table 2.3
The relationship between size of banner ad and intention to click in high involvement

Size of banner ad	Number of Cases	Intention to Click Mean(Std. dev)	t-value
Small	65	2.6(1.1)	1.33
Large	59	2.8(1.0)	

$p \leq .01$

**Intention to click banner ads was measured by 5-point Likert item of "I will click the banner ad to further see the detailed description of the ad"

Table 2.4
The relationship between animation of banner ad and intention to click in high involvement

Animation	Number of Cases	Intention to click Mean(Std. dev)	t-value
Animated	50	2.8(1.1)	.61
Static	46	2.9(1.1)	

$p \leq .01$

**Intention to click banner ads was measured by 5-point Likert item of "I will click the banner ad to further see the detailed description of the ad"

Table 3
The relationship between relevance and intention to click

Relevancy	Number of Cases	Relevancy between ad and home site Mean(Std. dev)	t-value
Relevant	99	3.3(1.2)	**2.61***
Not relevant	102	2.9(.9)	

$p \leq .01$

**Intention to click banner ads was measured by 5-point Likert item of "I will click the banner ad to further see the detailed description of the ad"

Table 4.1

The effect of attitude toward home site (C|Net) on intention to click (US Robotics)

	Sum of Squares	Degree of Freedom	Mean Squares	F-ratio
Main explained effects	6.74	1	6.74	**9.30***
Residual	141.97	196	.72	
Total	148.70	197		

$p \leq .01$

Table 4.2

The effect of attitude toward home site (C|Net) on intention to click (IBM Thinkpad ad)

	Sum of Squares	Degree of Freedom	Mean Squares	F-ratio
Main explained effects	14.35	1	14.35	**20.77***
Residual	135.45	196	.69	
Total	149.80	197		

$p \leq .01$

Table 4.3

The effect of attitude toward home site (Sports section of Infoseek) on intention to click (Gatorade ad)

	Sum of Squares	Degree of Freedom	Mean Squares	F-ratio
Main explained effects	7.83	1	7.83	**11.21***
Residual	136.88	196	.70	
Total	144.71	197		

$p \leq .01$

**Attitude toward the home ad site was categorical variable with two levels (favorable and unfavorable attitude)

**Intention to click banner ads was measured by 5-point Likert item of "I will click the banner ad to further see the detailed description of the ad"

Table 4.4

The effect of attitude toward home site (ESPN Sports Zone) on intention to click (IBM Thinkpad ad)

	Sum of Squares	Degree of Freedom	Mean Squares	F-ratio
Main explained effects	2.28	1	2.28	3.16
Residual	141.40	196	.72	
Total	143.68	197		

$p \leq .01$

**Attitude toward the home ad site was categorical variable with two levels (favorable and unfavorable attitude)

**Intention to click banner ads was measured by 5-point Likert item of "I will click the banner ad to further see the detailed description of the ad"

Table 5.1
The relation between overall probability to click banner ads
and overall attitude toward Web advertising

Attitude toward Web advertising	Standard discriminant function coefficients	Group 1 Mean Score (Std. dev) N = 21	Group 2 Mean Score (Std. dev) N = 13
Web ad Supplies valuable information	**.58**	**3.0(1.1)**	**3.7(0.9)**
Web ad is irritating	.14	2.6(1.1)	3.2(0.9)
Web ad is entertaining	.17	2.6(1.0)	3.3(0.9)
Web ad is valuable	**.61**	**2.9(1.2)**	**3.7(1.0)**
Web ad is necessary	**-.38**	**3.0(1.1)**	**3.7(1.0)**

Wilks' Lambda = 0.85, Chi-Square = 31.7*, d.f. = 5, $p \leq .01$

**Intention to click banner ads was measured by 5-point Likert item of "I will click the banner ad to further see the detailed description of the ad.'

**5 items measuring attitude toward Web advertising were measured by 5-point Likert scale.

** All items were coded by giving a big number to positive agreement with positive statement and negative agreement with negative statement.

Table 5.2
The relationship between overall attitude toward Web advertising
And overall attitude toward banner ads

8 variables measuring attitude toward Gatorade banner ad	Between Group Sum of Squars	Within Group Sum of Squares	F-ratio	Favorable Mean Score (Std. dev) N = 102	Unfavorable Mean Score (Std. dev) N = 101
This ad is irritating.	**18.2**	**236.0**	**15.3***	**3.1(1.0)**	**2.5(1.2)**
I like this ad.	**27.6**	**215.9**	**25.4***	**3.2(0.9)**	**2.5(1.1)**
This ad has good visual effects.	**113.2**	**223.1**	**100.4***	**3.5(1.2)**	**2.0(0.9)**
This ad is eye-catching.	**23.6**	**224.7**	**20.8***	**3.5(1.0)**	**2.8(1.2)**
This ad is annoying.	0.0	128.8	4.5	2.5(0.9)	2.2(0.7)
This ad is informative.	3.0	182.9	0.0	3.2(1.0)	3.2(0.9)
This ad draws my attention.	**25.8**	**165.4**	**30.8***	**2.5(0.9)**	**1.8(0.9)**
I would enjoy seeing this ad again.	**12.1**	**267.7**	**9.0***	**3.1(1.1)**	**2.6(1.2)**

Wilks' Lambda = 0.62, Approximate F-ratio = 14.5*, d.f. = (8, 191), $p \leq .01$

** All items (5-point Likert scales) were coded by giving a big number to positive agreement with positive statement and negative agreement with negative statement.
**The independent variable (attitude toward Web advertising) had two levels (favorable and unfavorable attitude).

Table 6.1

Factor analysis for IBM Thinkpad ad using eight checklist variables that measure attitude toward the ad

	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3
This ad is irritating.	0.3	0.1	**0.8**
I like this ad.	0.4	**0.7**	0.3
This ad has good visual effects.	**0.7**	0.2	-0.3
This ad is eye-catching.	**0.8**	0.3	0.4
This ad is annoying.	0.2	0.5	**0.8**
This ad is informative.	0.1	-0.1	**0.7**
This ad draws my attention.	**0.8**	0.3	0.0
I would enjoy seeing this ad again.	0.3	**0.9**	0.1

Total variance explained with three factors: 86%

** All items (5-point Likert scales) were coded by giving a big number to positive agreement with positive statement and negative agreement with negative statement.

Table 6.2

The relationship between gender and Internet-surfing hours

Gender	Number of Cases	Surfing hours per week Mean(Std. dev)	t-value
Female	102	3.1(3.0)	**2.04***
Male	81	4.2(4.0)	

$p \leq .05$

Figure 1
Elaboration Likelihood Model of Persuasion

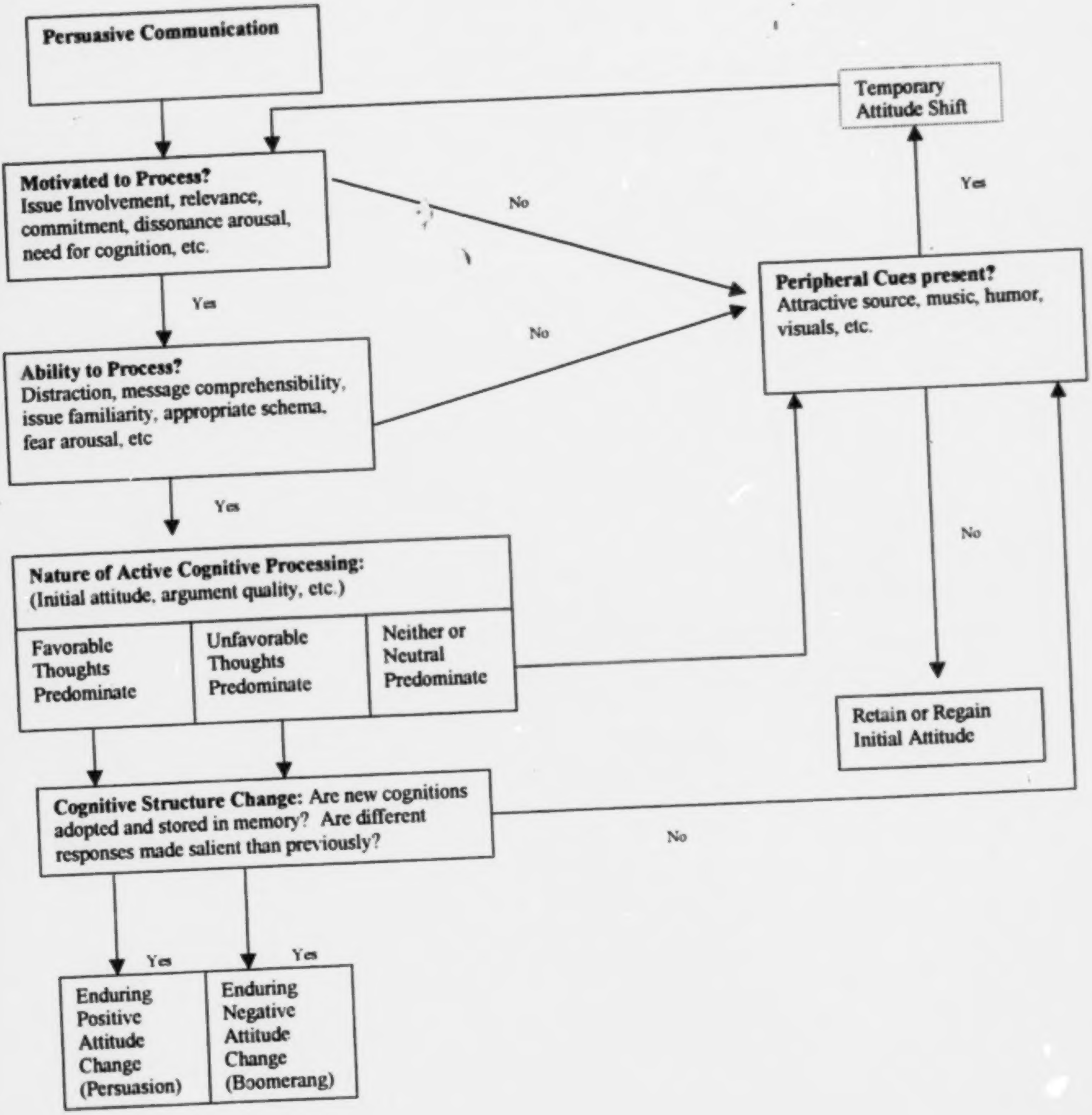
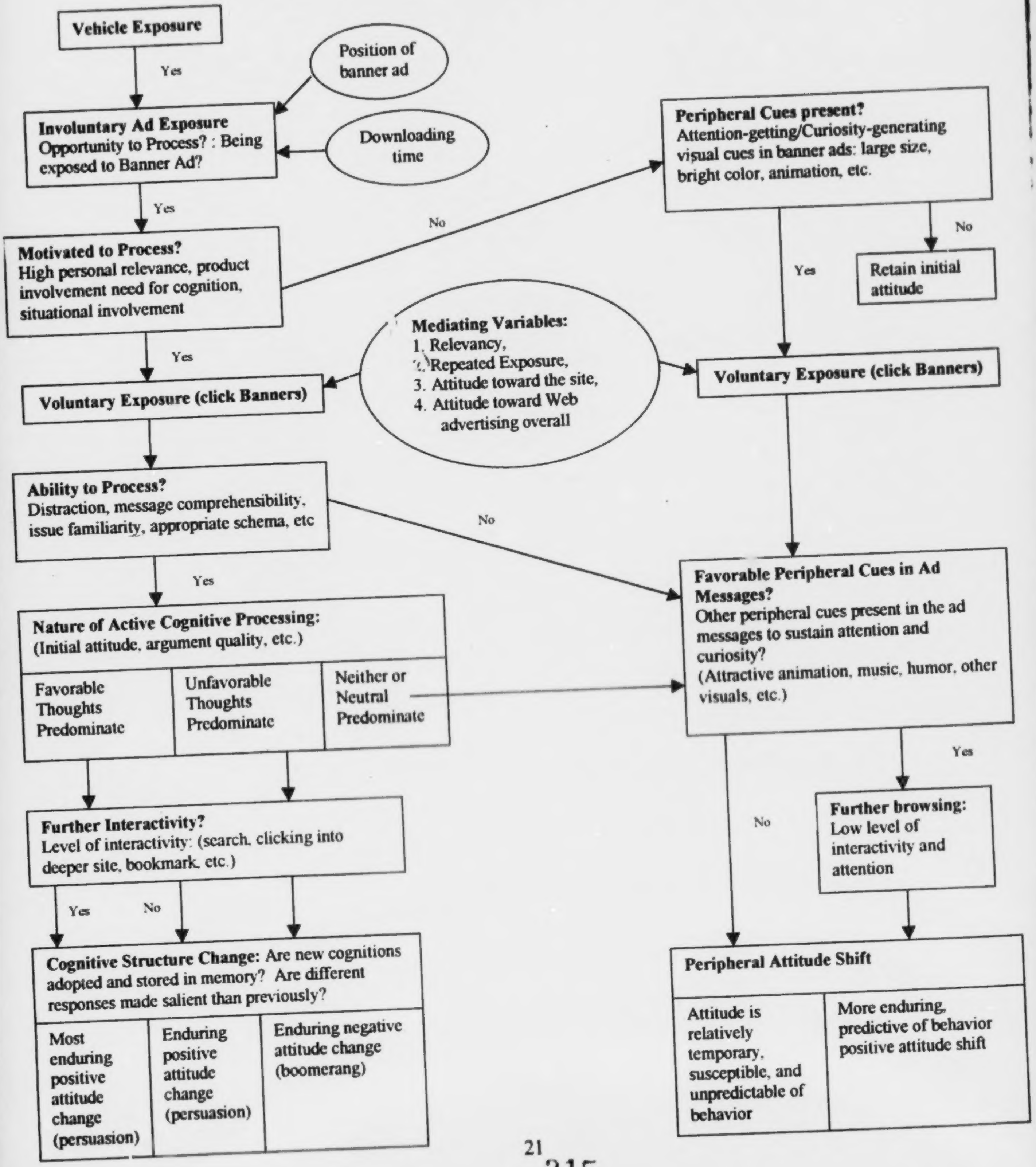

Persuasive Communication
Temporary Attitude Shift
Motivated to Process? Issue Involvement, relevance, commitment, dissonance arousal, need for cognition, etc.
No
Yes
Peripheral Cues present? Attractive source, music, humor, visuals, etc.
Yes
No
Ability to Process? Distraction, message comprehensibility, issue familiarity, appropriate schema, fear arousal, etc
Yes
No
Nature of Active Cognitive Processing: (Initial attitude, argument quality, etc.)
Favorable Thoughts Predominate
Unfavorable Thoughts Predominate
Neither or Neutral Predominate
Retain or Regain Initial Attitude
Cognitive Structure Change: Are new cognitions adopted and stored in memory? Are different responses made salient than previously?
No
Yes
Yes
Enduring Positive Attitude Change (Persuasion)
Enduring Negative Attitude Change (Boomerang)

Figure 2
Modified Elaboration Likelihood Model of Persuasion


Vehicle Exposure
Yes
Position of banner ad
Downloading time
Involuntary Ad Exposure
Opportunity to Process? : Being exposed to Banner Ad?
Yes
Motivated to Process?
High personal relevance, product involvement need for cognition, situational involvement
No
Peripheral Cues present?
Attention-getting/Curiosity-generating visual cues in banner ads: large size, bright color, animation, etc.
No
Retain initial attitude
Yes
Yes
Mediating Variables:
1. Relevancy,
2. Repeated Exposure,
3. Attitude toward the site,
4. Attitude toward Web advertising overall
Voluntary Exposure (click Banners)
Voluntary Exposure (click Banners)
Ability to Process?
Distraction, message comprehensibility, issue familiarity, appropriate schema, etc
No
Yes
Favorable Peripheral Cues in Ad Messages?
Other peripheral cues present in the ad messages to sustain attention and curiosity?
(Attractive animation, music, humor, other visuals, etc.)
Nature of Active Cognitive Processing:
(Initial attitude, argument quality, etc.)
Favorable Thoughts Predominate
Unfavorable Thoughts Predominate
Neither or Neutral Predominate
Yes
No
Further browsing:
Low level of interactivity and attention
Further Interactivity?
Level of interactivity: (search, clicking into deeper site, bookmark, etc.)
Yes
No
Cognitive Structure Change: Are new cognitions adopted and stored in memory? Are different responses made salient than previously?
Most enduring positive attitude change (persuasion)
Enduring positive attitude change (persuasion)
Enduring negative attitude change (boomerang)
Peripheral Attitude Shift
Attitude is relatively temporary, susceptible, and unpredictable of behavior
More enduring, predictive of behavior positive attitude shift

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Endnotes

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[1] There is no formal study comparing informational content of Internet advertising to that of traditional advertising such as TV, magazine, and newspaper advertising. But most people believe that Internet advertising contains more information than traditional advertising. And it is also believed that information in Web advertising is more easily accessible without extra effort, such as going out to search for more information because information in the Internet is accessible 24-hours, comprehensive, and inclusive of most information necessary for purchase decision.

[2] A Web site which provides computer-related information. URL is "http://www.cnet.com"

A NEW TAXONOMY WITH CULTURAL REFLECTION FOR COMPARATIVE ADVERTISING STYLES

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A NEW TAXONOMY WITH CULTURAL REFLECTION FOR COMPARATIVE ADVERTISING STYLES

Abstract

This paper proposes a new taxonomy for comparative advertising styles. The significant attribute is that the model can provide a framework for both intranational and international analyses/evaluations of various comparative advertising communication styles. It is unique because the new model: (1) recognized the categories that have not been conceptualized previously, and (2) not only provides a basic function of taxonomy which is useful for categorization but also adds an intercultural approach to the form.

A NEW TAXONOMY WITH CULTURAL REFLECTION FOR COMPARATIVE ADVERTISING STYLES

Introduction

Comparative advertising is a type of advertising technique where any type of comparison is made either explicitly or implicitly in terms of one or more specific product/service attributes between an sponsored product, service, brand, or company and other competitors. Among many forms of comparative advertising, direct comparative advertising (DCA) distinguishes itself with its feature that compares two or more "specifically named" or "recognizably presented" brands of the same product/service category class (Wilkie & Farris, 1975). Other comparative ads make comparisons without readily mentioning a competitor's name or just using adjectives in the comparative or superlative degree. DCA is a very popular advertising practice in the U.S. today and the number has grown substantially especially since the late 1980s (Freeman, 1987; Swayne & Stevenson, 1987; "Network handling," 1990; "Red in tooth," 1991). This specific style of advertising has recently begun to appear in overseas market (Kilburn, 1987; Maskery, 1992; "GM blitzes rivals," 1992; "GM ad goes," 1992; AP Online, 1994).

Since its 1972 debut in the U.S., the effectiveness of DCA has been much discussed in both academia (Ash & Wee, 1975; Levin, 1976; Jain & Hackleman, 1978; Shimp & Dyer, 1978; Pride et al., 1979; Golden, 1979; Earl & Pride, 1980; Goodwin & Etgar, 1980; Belch, 1981; Murphy & Amundsen, 1981; Harmon et al., 1983; Tashchian & Slama, 1984; Droge & Darmon, 1987; Swayne & Stevenson, 1987; Iyer, 1988; Ishibashi, 1991; Gotlieb & Sarel, 1991)[1] and industry ("Disparaging ads will," 1965; "Derogatory copy? 'Never attack a competitor," 1965; "Sealy's Kaplan blasts," 1966; "Tueros drive," 1970; Danzig, 1971; Consoli, 1976; "Pros and cons," 1976; "Immediate-gratification," 1976; Braodcasting advertising," 1977; "Comparative ads help," 1977; Morner, 1978; "Media & advertising," 1979; Giges, 1980; Emmrich, 1982; Berstein, 1993)[2]. The main concern regarding the effectiveness of comparative advertising has been that these research findings as well as professional view points are mixed and often conflicting. In comparison to a substantial number of research studies published by academics and articles by advertising professionals on the effectiveness of comparative advertising, little focus has been paid to a taxonomy of comparative advertising. Most research studies are based on their own classification to evaluate comparative advertising practice. It is speculated by some researchers that such confusion may be attributed to the lack of a systematic scheme of classifying and analyzing comparative advertising (Barry & Tremblay, 1975; Wilkie & Farris, 1975; Shimp, 1975; McDougall, 1978; Wilson, 1978; Lamb et al., 1978; Muehling & Kagun, 1985; Buchanan & smithies, 1989; Barry, 1993a, 1993b). In order to facilitate the development of an empirical body of knowledge about comparative advertising effectiveness, some researchers (Lamb et al, 1978; Barry, 1993a, 1993b) have introduced a common taxonomy for comparative advertising research.

The current taxonomies, however, still pose some fundamental problems specially when the taxonomies are applied to international research settings. Among comparative ads that lately appeared in overseas markets, several styles of the ads are unable to be classified using the current taxonomies. Hasegawa (1990)[3], for example, found that approximately one third of all comparative TV ads in Japan compared the advertised new product/service (e.g., newly improved product or a new model) with its own existing, old product(s)/service(s). However, the current taxonomies introduced in the U.S. assume that all comparison is made against competitors, and do not contain, for example, a category such as "self-comparison."

Claiming of the importance of cultural influence, many advertising researchers and professionals have often pointed out substantial differences between the U.S. and other countries' advertising in general. Many empirical research results support the influence of "culture," for example, on the advertising appeals, and the amount of information contained in advertising between the different countries (Dowling, 1980; Madden et al., 1986; Hong et al., 1987; Mueller, 1987; Martenson, 1987; Kishii, 1988; Hoshino & Tanaka, 1990; Ramaprasad & Hasegawa, 1990, 1992; Noor Al-Deen, 1991; Frith, 1991; Pasadeos, 1991; Ramaprasad, 1991; Weinberger & Spotts, 1991; Nevett, 1992; Keown et al., 1992; Biswas et al., 1992; Graham et al, 1993; Miracle et al., 1993; Ju-Pack & Chang, 1997). None of these international/intercultural advertising research studies, however, focused on comparative advertising practice.

In addition, while most of the studies have been mainly centered on the content of advertising messages (e.g., appeals utilized and information contained in advertising, and so on), very few have studied on the structural aspects of messages. The structural aspects of a message includes, for example, the effects of systematic variation in the appeals or arguments use, the organizational structure of the message, the stylistic design of the message, and the language characteristics embodied in the message (Bettinghaus & Cody, 1987). When classifying comparative advertising styles, these elements become crucial since how the concept of "comparison" is presented in an ad is deeply tied to the organizational structure of the "comparative" message. Further, from the intercultural view point, it is important to consider the influence of "culture" on the style of communicating "comparison" messages to the audience of the culture.

The main purposes of this study are: (1) to provide a conceptualized model for the effectiveness of communication style utilized in comparative advertising with its focus on the compatibility between the culture and advertising communication style, and ultimately (2) to propose a new taxonomy that is more comprehensive with an intercultural approach to the form.

Cultural Reflection in Advertising Communication Style

Culture and Communication Style

Cultural influence on interpersonal communication style. Culture of a society is inseparable from how individual in that culture behave, communicate, and interact each other. From the moment a person is born, as a member of society, the person learns about our world -- not only the rules, customs and traditions of one's country, but also the values and norms of that society, language, the use of the material artifacts, and so on -- from one's parents, brothers and sister, aunts and uncles, friends, neighbors, schools, and churches (Bettinghaus, 1980; Bettinghaus & Cody, 1987; DeFleur & Ball-Rokeach, 1989). Through the process of learning, the individuals in a specific culture acquire these elements, which are external to them, as the internal parts of their psychological organization. This learning process, called "socialization," is the basic survival mechanism for a society to be a continuous and stable system (DeFleur & Ball-Rokeach, 1989). From an individual perspective, socialization teaches us how to communicate, to behave, to think, to solve problems using techniques acceptable to society. As a result of socialization, individuals of a culture or society, as a member of that society, take many of the same things for granted and make the same assumptions about numerous aspects of their social system.

In addition to socialization process, cultural influence on people's behavior is explained by "group influence" theory. People are influenced by "groups" which they belong to or associate with (Bettinghaus, 1980; Bettinghaus & Cody, 1987). The people in the group with whom an individual associates keep sending messages to the individual, and he/she cannot help but be influenced by these messages. Therefore, it is argued, that a person becomes similar to the group to which the individual belongs. A society, country, or culture can be considered as one of the largest-scale groups an individual associates with. As part of this large group, individuals in a particular society, country, or culture would share some similarity in their norms, values and social expectations. Among these shared characteristics could very well be a particular expectation vis-a-vis communication messages.

Society also serves as a "reference group" for its members. "Reference groups" is the term used to describe any group to which people relate their attitude and beliefs (Bettinghaus, 1980; Bettinghaus & Cody, 1987). According to Bettinghaus (1980), one of the two major functions that reference groups serve is to help determine appropriate behavior for an individual by setting group standards or norms of behavior. For interpersonal communication style, it can then be argued that, in a given society, individuals base their interaction patterns on the attitudes and beliefs standards which are set by their society as their reference group.

Cultural influence on advertising communication style. Both socialization and group influence approaches predict that individuals in a given culture would have a more or less similar interpersonal communication style as influenced by their cultural values norms, societal behavior and language. Because the audiences in a society, as a receiver of advertising message, is composed of individuals who have been socialized in a specific culture, it can be assumed that these members would share some key cultural expectations from each other as related to both direct and mediated interactions. Among the mediated interactions is advertising. It can, therefore, be argued that individuals would expect advertisements to use acceptable techniques in relating to the audience and to one other (Hornik, 1980; DeFleur & Ball-Rokeach, 1989).

It is known, for example, that Japanese tend to use ambiguous words and to avoid leaving an assertive impression in an interpersonal setting (Okabe, 1983; Kim, 1988; Shane, 1988; Midooka, 1990). Especially they do not like to utter a flat "no" when they have to refuse or decline somebody's request or when they disagree with someone. "Being refused, declined or refuted in public is very embarrassing and something the Japanese hate" (Midooka, 1990, p. 488). Chua and Gudykunst (1987) found differences between American and Taiwanese in their respective style of communication when coping with a conflict situation: American preferred a direct style of communication, while Taiwanese preferred an indirect style of communication. According to Kim (1988), "silence is often preferred to eloquent verbalization in many of the Eastern cultures" (p.368). Individuals in those cultures sometimes are "suspicious of the genuineness of excessive verbal praise or compliments since, to [their] view, true feelings are intuitively apparent and therefore do not need to be, nor can be articulated" (Kim, 1988, p. 368). In contrast, in many of Western cultures communication is seen as an expression of individuality through verbal articulation and assertiveness since it is assumed that "feelings inside are not . . . intuitively 'grasped' and understood" (Kim, 1988, p. 368). All the above suggests that a certain way of communicating might be encouraged in one culture, but disliked in other cultures.

Cognitive consistency theory also explains the necessity that advertising conforms to a culturally acceptable communication style in order to be effective and persuasive. While the various consistency theories have unique aspects, the common proposition which all the cognitive consistency theories are based on is that, because inconsistency is somehow unpleasant, painful, uncomfortable or distasteful, the tensions created by this uncomfortable state will lead to attempts to reduce the tension. Festinger (1957) and Brehm & Cohen (1962) called these variables "consonance vs.

dissonance," Osgood and Tannenbaum (1955) "congruity vs. incongruity," Abelson and Rosenberg (1958) "consistency," and "inconsistency" and Heider (1958) "balance vs. imbalance." According to this theoretical body, a person would attempt to avoid situations and information which are likely to create dissonance (Festinger, 1957; Brehm & Cohen, 1962).

The argument regarding dissonance can be applied to advertising message exposure. The advertisements which do not adopt the proper interpersonal communication style would be rejected by the audience in that culture in order to reduce the dissonance induced by watching or reading some ad which makes them psychologically uncomfortable. The audience, for example, would not pay attention to the content of or totally avoid advertising messages that are considered inconsistent with their culture by flipping pages of the magazine or by using a remote control to change the channel as soon as they encounter such ads. After many brief exposures, the audience would come to dislike not only the ad or the claim itself, but also the advertised product/service in the ad, and finally the sponsored company. In such a situation, the ads would obviously be neither effective nor persuasive in the country in which they are printed or aired.

In order to be accepted by and be effective and persuasive to the audience in a given culture, the style of communication adopted in advertising should reflect the manner used in the interpersonal communication of that particular country. In other words, the style of advertising communication utilized in TV/radio commercials or print ads should be compatible with the cultural values and the social behaviors that the people in the particular country exhibit when they interact with each other.

Bearing in mind the discussion above, the following discusses several key cultural variables which are believed to significantly affect the interpersonal communication style in a given country and probably the differences in the way a "comparative" message is presented in advertising in different cultures. For example, while the U.S. and Japan share many similarities in economic and political system and modern life styles, it is very well known there are substantial differences in personal communication styles between the two countries. Then, it can be expected to see a different way to communicate the concept of "comparison" between the two countries, which would have a influence on the style of comparative advertising in each culture. In the following section, after examining the several key cultural variables, this paper will look at how these variables affect "how to present the comparison message" in the two cultures. The variables are: (1) the society and social behavior, and (2) the language. In the first section "Society and Social Behavior," the notion of (a) individualism and collectivism, (b) psychology of control, and (c) interpersonal communication style will be investigated. The "Language" section analyzes (a) high vs. low context language.

Cultural Variables

Society and Social Behavior

In contrast to the U.S. which is called the "melting pot of races," Japan comprises a homogeneous society (Okabe, 1983). It is "virtually made up of a single ethnic group which speaks a single language, and has a racial homogeneity" (Hasegawa, 1978, n.p.). This linguistic and racial homogeneity in the Japanese society brought forth its peculiar social behavior and cultural values.

Individualism vs. collectivism. Individualism-collectivism has been considered as a cultural variable, that is, one of the distinct dimensions of national character as well as a personality variable (Hofstede, 1980, 1983; Hui & Triandis, 1986; Frith, 1991). In addition, the cultural variability dimension of individualism vs. collectivism is a key element in analyzing the underlying norms and rules in different cultures (Trubisky et al., 1991). The individualism vs. collectivism dimension is also useful for understanding the communication behavior differences in interpersonal relationships (Gudykunst & Nishida, 1986).

Individualism in a societal context is a highly valued feeling of independence (Hui, 1988; Trubisky et al., 1991). It refers to the tendency to be more concerned with one's own needs, goals, and interests than with group-oriented concerns (Hui, 1988; Triandis, 1988). By contrast, collectivism heavily emphasizes conformity and harmony with the in-group. Collectivism refers to the tendency to be more concerned with the group's needs, goals, and interests than with individualistic-oriented interests. For example, in the U.S., where individualism is emphasized, the individual is conceptualized as "a minimum unit of the society". The American individual is independent, likely to place "the importance on the unique self or the 'I' identity," and has his/her own established identity (Trubisky et al., 1991). By contrast, in Japan, where collectivism is highly valued, the minimum unit of the society is not considered to be the individual but an interpersonal relation or interaction (Midooka 1990). Individuals in Japan are group-oriented, prone to identify themselves by the groups to which they belong, and likely to emphasize "the importance of group membership or the 'we' identity" (Lazer et al., 1985; Kim 1988; Midooka 1990; Trubisky et al., 1991).

Individualism-collectivism affects interpersonal communication behavior in each society (Gudykunst & Nishida, 1986). The individualistic American culture tends to emphasize explicit, direct verbal interaction and individual autonomous orientation (Hall, 1976; Ting-Toomey, 1985; Trubisky et al. 1991). Such culture also encourages self-assertion and the frank expression of one's own opinions (Okabe, 1983). The members in this type of culture tend to stress the value of verbalizing overtly their individual wants and needs (Ting-Toomey, 1988). In a discussion situation, for example, the American individuals tends to be assertive, stress one's own point of view in order to "stand out," that is, to make one's individuality salient (Barnlund, 1975; Okabe, 1983).

A collectivistic Japanese culture tends to stress implicit, indirect verbal interaction and group orientation (Trubisky et al. 1991). The tendency leads Japanese to avoid expressing personal opinions and to modify one's own opinions to be consistent with others (Okabe, 1983). Japanese also tend to heavily emphasize the value of contemplative talk and discretion in voicing one's opinions and feelings (Ting-Toomey, 1988). They are so socialized to conform with others that they can read subtle cues in others' thoughts and feelings, identify areas of agreement, and thus keep their words and deeds carefully attuned to others (Weisz et al., 1984). They try to avoid head-on conflicts or unnecessary frictions as much as possible (Wagenaar 1978; Nippon Steel Co. 1986). Japanese, hence, tend not to give a clear-cut "yes or no" answer, nor to voice their own opinions in a self-asserting way as much as American people do (Wagenaar 1978; Okabe 1983; Nippon Steel Co. 1986).

Considering the individualism vs. collectivism discussion above, the style of comparative ads that present arguments regarding the virtues of one's own product and stress assertively one's own product characteristics using direct expression and naming out the competitors is very much consistent with the characteristics of an individualistic society such as the U.S., but not with those of a collectivistic society like Japan. On the other hand, more vague, indirect way of comparison would be more acceptable to a collective culture such as Japan. When necessary to make a clear and direct comparison, an individual in a collectivistic culture would try to make a comparison in the way to avoid off ending anyone: against previous oneself in order to indicate how "current" oneself has been improved or against more generic and neutral target.

Psychology of control. The behavioral differences between American and Japanese may be explained by the different weight of their emphasis on a feeling of control between "primary control" and "secondary control" (Weisz et al., 1984). According to Weisz and his associates (1984), there are two ways of controlling a feeling which individuals tend to choose when they "shape existing physical, social or behavioral realities to fit their perceptions, goals or wishes" (p. 955): (1) primary control and (2) secondary control. When individuals choose primary control, they are likely to

> attempt to influence specific realities, sometimes via acts involving personal agency, dominance, or even aggression. These acts are often intended to express, enhance, or sustain individualism and personal autonomy. (Weisz et al., 1984, p. 956)

Alternatively, individuals in secondary control are likely to

> attempt to accommodate to existing realities, sometimes via acts that limit individualism and personal autonomy but enhance perceived alignment or goodness of fit with people, objects, or circumstances in their world. (Weisz et al., 1984, p. 956)

Weisz et al. (1984) argued that in contrast to the U.S. where primary control is heavily emphasized and highly valued, primary control, in Japan, "has traditionally been less highly valued and less often anticipated, and secondary control has assumed a more central role in everyday life" (p. 955). These researchers observed this discrepancy of "control-relevant behavior" in many aspects of the everyday life in both countries: child rearing[4], socialization[5], religion and philosophy[6], the world of work[7], and psychotherapy[8]. At the beginning stages of life, an individual in a given country is taught the importance of primary or secondary control. That individual starts being socialized to behave in a certain way first through contact with his/her mother, later through the school experience, education, religion, and finally through interacting with others at work in a society. Weisz and his colleagues' observation of primary vs. secondary control in U.S. and Japan suggests that while Americans are likely to influence and alter their external surroundings in order to attain some goal or wish, Japanese are likely to alter their internal "self" to accept their external environment.

In other words, the individuals who are socialized in a culture where primary control is highly valued would place importance on individualism. In addition, due to emphasis on primary control, they are likely to try to influence and alter their external surroundings in order to attain some goal(s) for themselves. At the level of interpersonal communication, the individual in this type of culture tends to be assertive, stress one's own point of view in order to "stand out," that is, to make one's individuality salient, for example, in a discussion situation (Barnlund, 1975; Okabe, 1983). By contrast, those socialized in a culture where secondary control is highly valued tend to emphasize collectivism, and are likely to alter their internal "self" to accept their external environment. They are so "socialized" to conform with others that they can read subtle cues in others' thoughts and feelings, identify areas of agreement, and thus keep their words and deeds carefully attuned to others. Such difference in the communication style between the two types of cultures is confirmed by Okabe (1983). In a culture that places an importance on primary control,

> the speaker tends to view him/herself as an agent of change, manipulating and persuading his/her listeners in a confrontational setting. The speaker is a transmitter of information, ideas, and opinions, while the audience is a receiver of these speech messages . . . The speaker . . . remains the central, potent agent of attitude change and persuasion. To communicate well means...to express himself or herself logically and persuasively. (Okabe, 1983, p. 36)

On the other hand, in a culture that places an importance on secondary control,

> [t]here is . . . an integration of roles between the speaker and the audience. The speaker, therefore, always attempts to adjust himself or herself to his or her listeners. In [such] a culture . . . , to communicate well means . . . to understand and perceive the inexplicit, even to the point of deciphering the faintest nuances of nonverbal

messages (Okabe, 1983, p. 36).

Relating the above to comparison style, direct comparison utilized in direct comparative advertising (DCA) can be considered as a primary control behavior rather than a secondary control behavior. In order to increase its market share (or "attain a goal and wish"), an advertiser shows one's advantage or superiority by making a comparison with competitors (or "tries to influence a specific reality and acts on its external surrounding") and sometimes by naming out one's competitors (or "acting aggressively"). Considering the arguments of Weisz and his colleagues (1984), it is reasonable to hold that DCA, which is considered to be primary control behavior, is popular in U.S. where primary control is highly valued. By contrast, such comparison style are not very much welcomed in Japan since primary control has traditionally been less highly valued and secondary control has been emphasized.

Interpersonal communication style. According to Okabe (1983), in the society like the U.S., where independence is valued, the culture is more "horizontal." Equality in peoples' relationship is the basic assumption in such a culture. The independent "I" and "you" clash in argument and try to persuade each other; argument is something enjoyable and considered as a sort of intellectual game (Okabe, 1983). As also pointed out in the previous section, horizontal (or individualistic) societies encourage rather informal communication style such as self-assertion, frank expression of opinion, calling each other by first-name, and arguing back when challenged.

In contrast, in the Japanese society where interdependence and harmony is valued, more "vertical" culture dominates (Okabe, 1983). The relationship among people is stratified and vertical, in which ". . . pronounce such as 'I' and 'you' are truly 'relative' in that their correct forms can only be determined in relation to the others in the interaction" (Okabe, 1983, p. 26). Such "verticality" in Japanese cultural values greatly affects how people interact each other. In such a society, "*wa*" (or keeping harmony with other people) is an important fundamental value related communication (Midooka, 1990).

Language

The language used in a particular country is also one of the important factors that affect the style of comparative communication. In this section, two significant points are discussed: (1) high vs. low context language; and (2) pluralism of language.

High vs. Low context language. The language use in the particular country is also one of the important factors that affect the style of advertising. Hall (1976) introduced the concept of "high/low context language." According to Hall (1976), Japanese language developed in the "high-context" communication culture, in which more information exists between communicators as a form of either the physical context (such as non-linguistic gestures and facial expressions) or internalized context (such as values and creeds). Here, only minimum information is in the coded, explicit, or transmitted part of the message (Hall, 1976). In other words, Japanese can understand the real feelings and intentions of speakers through not only linguistic factors, but also non-linguistic factors, the atmosphere of the setting where the communication takes place, and social relations between communicators. This may be the reason why Japanese favor indirect statements that feel out another person's moods and attitudes (Okabe, 1983; Shane, 1988). According to Shane (1988), more emphasis is placed on communicating moods rather than ideas in Japan.

In contrast to the Japanese "high-context" communication culture, Hall (1976) regarded American culture as a typical "low-context" communication culture or one in which the "mass of the information is vested in the explicit code" (Hall, 1976). People in such a "low-context" communication culture need to articulate and express their messages explicitly.

In summary, the people who grow up in the "high-context" communication culture, can understand the real feelings and intentions of speakers through not only through linguistic factors, but also non-linguistic factors such as the atmosphere of the setting where the communication takes place, and the social relations between communicators. Based on the cognitive consistency theory, people in such a culture would prefer styles which communicate mood and atmosphere by using indirect statements rather than ones which communicate an idea with direct expression. In contrast, a low-context communication would be just the opposite. Because the "mass of the information is vested in the explicit code" (Hall, 1976), the people in such a "low-context" communication culture need to articulate and express explicitly their messages due to the lack of shared assumptions.

Conceptualization Framework for New Model

Culture and Advertising Communication Style

The cultural examination above makes it plausible to argue that the comparison styles utilized in ads which would be considered compatible with individualistic cultures are the ones incorporating: a portrayal or admiration for individuality (= individualism); arguments regarding the virtues of a product or which stress assertively one's own product characteristics (= individualistic and primary control behavior); direct comparison with alternative products or services on attributes or price, while identifying the brand or company name of competitors' products (= primary control behavior); logical, clear reasons for purchase, using direct expression (= "low-context" language).

On the other hand, the comparison styles which would be considered compatible with collectivistic cultures style would be the ones incorporating: a portrayal of harmony (= collectivism); indirect, vague comparisons among products/services (= secondary control behavior); very few arguments regarding the advertised products/services (= collectivistic and secondary control behavior); an emphasis on mood and atmosphere (= "high-context" language).

In addition to the appropriateness of communication style employed in advertising targeted to different cultures, it is necessary to examine the current key taxonomies for comparative advertising, before establishing the conceptualized model for comparative advertising and culture. For "how to compare," that is, different types of comparison is the main component of comparative advertising communication style. In the next section, after examining a couple of key existing taxonomy, problems found in those classification will be discussed.

Taxonomy of Comparative Advertising

Current Taxonomy Models

As mentioned in Introduction, little focus has been paid to a taxonomy of comparative advertising styles in comparison to the amount of research studies on the effectiveness of comparative advertising, of which findings are often mixed and sometimes conflicting. It is speculated that such confusion may be attributed to the lack of a systematic scheme of classifying and analyzing comparative advertising (Barry & Tremblay, 1975; Wilkie & Farris, 1975; Shimp, 1975; McDougall, 1978; Wilson, 1978; Lamb et al., 1978; Muehling & Kangun, 1985; Buchanan & Smithies, 1989; Barry, 1993a, 1993b). In order to facilitate the development of an empirical body of knowledge about comparative advertising effectiveness, some researchers (Lamb et al., 1978; Barry, 1993a, 1993b) have proposed a common taxonomy for comparative advertising research.

Lamb and his colleagues in 1978 presented a conceptual framework for classifying and evaluating various formats found in its technique. The proposed taxonomy has two multi-level dimensions: "Directionality" and "Intensity" of comparison. Directionality, which has two levels (Associative vs. Differentiative), indicates the degree to which an advertising message emphasize the similarities or the differences respectively between the advertised brand and the competing brand(s) (Lamb et al., 1978). For example, an associative comparative ad typically describes the similarities between the advertised brand and the competing brand(s) while an differentiative comparative ad focus its statements on the differences between its own brand and the competing brand(s) (Lamb et al., 1978).

The second dimension of Lamb and his associates' taxonomy "intensity" measures the specificity of comparison that is made in a comparative ad, and has three levels (Low, Moderate, and High) (Lamb et al., 1978). The level of intensity, according to Lamb and his colleagues (1978), is a function of (1) whether the name of competitor(s) is clearly mentioned in an ad message or whether it is identifies in another way in the copy, and (2) the frequency at which comparison is made between the advertised brand and the competitors'. For example, low-intensity comparison does not identify the competing brand(s) by name but does refer to it in other ways such as "the leading brand," "Brand X," or "major competition" while both moderate- and high-intensity comparison does identify the competitors by name (Lamb et al., 1978). In a moderate-intensity comparison ad, there is no a point-by-point comparison unlike such comparison is prominent in a high-intensity comparison ad (Lamb et al., 1978).

In the table below summarizes a taxonomy of comparative advertising formats proposed by Lamb and his colleagues (Lamb et al., 1978, p. 45).

Table 1 - Lamb et al.'s (1978) Taxonomy for Comparison Advertising Research

		DIRECTIONALITY OF COMPARISON	
		DIFFERENTIATIVE	**ASSOCIATIVE**
INTENSITY	LOW	- The advertisement does not identify the competing brand(s) by name, but it casually refers to it in other ways such as "the leading brand." - The comparisons stress the differences between the sponsored brand and the competing brand(s).	- The advertisement does not identify the competing brand(s) by name, but it casually refers to it in other ways such as "the leading brand." - The comparisons stress the similarities between the sponsored brand and the competing brand(s).
	MODERT.	- The name of the competing brand(s) is identified but is mentioned infrequently. - The comparison does not occur on a point-by-point basis. - The differences between the sponsored brand and the competing brand(s) are emphasized.	- The name of the competing brand(s) is identified but is mentioned infrequently. - The comparison does not occur on a point-by-point basis. - The similarities between the sponsored brand and the competing brand(s) are emphasized.
	HIGH	- The competing brand name(s) is identified and is mentioned frequently in a point-by-point comparison. - The comparisons emphasize the differences between the sponsored brand and the competing brand(s).	The competing brand name(s) is identified and is mentioned frequently in a point-by-point comparison. - The comparisons emphasize the similarities between the sponsored brand and the competing brand(s).

Barry (1993a, 1993b) proposed a taxonomy detailing the various types of comparison that exist in the market place today. He categorize the variety of comparison into five types: (1) inferiority comparative, (2) parity comparative, (3) superiority comparative, (4) combination comparative, and (5) direct brand partnership (Barry, 1993a, 1993b). The table below shows his categorization of different types of comparative advertising and examples for each comparison level (Barry, 1993a, p. 27).

Table 2 - Examples for Different Comparison Types by Barry (1993a)

TYPES	EXPLANATION AND EXAMPLES
Inferior Comparatives	- Try to countervail by presenting disadvantageous features as superiority. - Rarely used. <EXAMPLE> *"We're the highest priced computer in the market."*
Parity Comparatives	- Emphasize equivocality of the advertised product/service to compared brands. <EXAMPLE> *"We fly as many places as other major airlines."*
Superiority Comparatives	- Emphasize superiority of the advertised product/service on one or more attributes. - Most used style. <EXAMPLE> *"We're the finest tasting soup on earth."*
Combination Comparatives	- Utilize two or more of inferior, parity, and/or superiority comparison types. <EXAMPLE> *"We may be the highest priced soup on the market but we're the finest tasting soup on earth."*
Direct Brand Partnership	- Emphasize positive alliances between two or more brands. <EXAMPLE> *"The Goodyear Eagle GA. Audi's choice for the flagship of their line."*

According to Barry (1993a), although one seldom comes across inferiority comparative ads, this type of comparison have been adopted in the ad by Curtis Mathis ("most expensive television . . . but worth it") and in the lemon campaign by Bolkswagen.

In addition, he suggested a possible combination of comparison patters which could be used in comparative advertising as indicated in the table below (Barry, 1993a, p. 27).

Table 3 - Comparison Pattern Possibility by Barry (1993a)

	COMPARISON PATTERN POSSIBILITIES
1	**Implicit** vs. **Explicit** (audience fills in brand) (brand(s) name)
2	**Verbal** vs. **Visual** (words) (illustration)
3	**Brand** vs. **Category** (specific brand(s)) (product class(es) named)
4	**Inferior, Parity, Superiority, Combination Claims**
5	**Brand Partnership**

Problems in Current Comparative Advertising Taxonomies

Several problems need to be improved in the categories of the current taxonomies for comparative advertising. These problems are found mainly in two areas: (1) "target" (or intensity) of comparison, and (2) "type" (or directionality) of comparison. The first section below discusses problems related to "target" of comparison in comparative advertising technique. Then, the problems relevant to "types" of comparison is examined in the second section.

Problems in "target" of comparison. In terms of "target" (or intensity) of comparison, one major problem with the current models for the comparative advertising format which have been developed in the U.S. is that they lack a category for a comparison made between "an advertised new product/service (newly improved or a new model)" and "its own existing, old product(s)/service(s)." According to Hasegawa (1990), approximately one third of all comparative advertisements in Japan falls under this unique category, while there was no comparative advertising in this format found in the U.S[9]. Instead, nearly one fifth of all U.S. comparative ads did identify the competitor(s) by name, and the rest of the ads made a comparison with their competitor(s) without identifying their name(s) nor logo(s) (Hasegawa, 1990).

Hasegawa's findings might be well explained by the cultural differences in these two countries' communication style which is examined earlier in this paper. In "standing-out" cultures where individualism is valued and primary control behavior is encouraged, there may not be any concept of comparing oneself with one's own. In "standing-in" cultures, however, where harmony and conformity (collectivism and secondary control behavior) are more emphasized, one does not really have a choice other than comparing oneself with previous oneself. There is no need of comparison with others because, in such a culture, (1) everyone can project what is said without being specified and can understand a real meaning of message and (2) it is not polite nor acceptable to argue one's own point view trying to influence people by elaborating on why he/she is better than competing ones. In other words, making a comparison among one's own products/services well reflects Japanese preference for "indirect rather than direct forms of expression" (Kishii, 1988; Miracle et al., 1989) and their typical cultural characteristics of "avoiding conflict" (Hasegawa, 1978; Wagenaar, 1978; Nipon steel Co., 1986; Lazer et al., 1985; Johansson, 1994) as well.

This type of "self-comparative" ad, if utilizing Lamb and his colleague's taxonomy, could be classified as "Differentiative" directionality and "High" intensity, although, as indicated in Table 1, the weakness of Lamb et al.'s (1978) definition is it assumes every comparison is against "competing" brand(s). It would be possible to interpret that comparing an advertised product/service with its own products is virtually equal to comparison with "competing product(s)," since the advertised product (which is usually new and improved) is surely different from its own existing/old products, and it is the main purpose of DCA that emphasizes the difference(s) between something new/improved and old. However, from a view point of cultural communication style, there exists a clear discrepancy between comparing one with oneself and comparing one with others. Clearly, both types of comparison (whether targeting competitors or oneself) are explicit and direct since both identify the target of the comparison in the ad. However, these two styles of direct comparison communicate substantially different cultural meaning to receivers of the message. For example, in a society where collectivism or secondary control behavior is valued, such communication style as comparing one with others would be considered offensive, arrogant, and disturbing harmony. In contrary, a society of individualism and primary control would perceive the same communication style as normal, and comparison between one with oneself would be considered too modest. Therefore, it is possible to argue that "self-comparison" is lesser in intensity than "Low Intensity" defined by Lamb and his associates. In other words, "self-comparison" is the most modest type of comparison style DCA can employ. This distinction is neither well reflected in Barry's (1993a) taxonomy.

The second problem is the current taxonomies need clarification within "comparison with *unidentified* competitors." For example, Lamb and his associates (1978) define the comparison level of "Low Intensity" as "[t]he advertising does not identify the competing brand(s) by name, but it casually refers to it in other ways such as 'the leading brand'" (p. 45). This definition includes the comparative advertising practices in which the competitors are (1) very vague and just mentioned generally by "other brands," (2) suggested by "leading brand(s)," and (3) called by "Brand X," and (4) obscured by a "beep" sound or "mosaic" effect. However, their definition makes it difficult to categorize the comparative advertisements that refer compared objects only as "existing products/services." It is mainly because, in such ads, it is never clear whether "existing products/services" mean only competing brands' or they also mean the sponsor's own existing products/services in addition to the competing products/services. Usually this specific comparison technique is used when a company has just come up with a new model or improved feature of a already-existing model available in the current market. Therefore, it is plausible to think the compared objects referred as "existing products/services" suggest both the sponsor's own existing products/services and competing products/services.

The third problem is involved when comparison is made with product category instead of particular brands/products/services. Usually such comparative ads demonstrate explicit comparison among different products based on category without mentioning competing brands' names. The main purpose of these ads is to emphasize the advertised product/service advantages which are attributed to its ingredients in comparison to other products made of other ingredients. Therefore, unlike the comparison with "existing product(s)/service(s)" just mentioned above, the compared objects in "category" comparison do not suggest the inclusion of the sponsor's brand.

The fourth problem is that so many comparative advertisements do not literally mention comparison objects at all, even as "other brands." For example, a claim such as "Now our (brand name) has a half calory!" does not clearly indicate what product this sponsored product makes a comparison with to claim "a half calory." Another example is "Our (brand name) clean better on glasses," which never specifies "better than what." Therefore, the new taxonomy needs a "no target" category.

Problems in "type" of comparison. Regarding "type" (or directionality) of comparison, the first problem with the current taxonomies is lack of category for "pseudo-comparative" advertising technique which communicates a concept of comparison with such words "only" or "different." The reason why this researcher calls this technique "pseudo-comparative" is that, unlike typical comparative ads, the technique does not use any comparative nor superlative degree of adjectives or adverbs in order to communicate a concept of comparison. The examples for "pseudo-comparative" advertising technique are: "It is *only* our (product name) that you can call 'cotton swab,'" "Only (brand name) can do . . . ," "It is this brand new model of (brand name) that is *different*!," "This (brand name) has two *different* attributes (from competitors' products)" or "Our (brand name) is *different* from existing products." All these examples share a distinctive yet common characteristic: while this technique linguistically does not employ a comparative form of language, the main purpose of the technique is to tries to convey a notion of comparison, emphasizing differences among the compared products/services. From a cultural stand point, this unique comparative expression utilizing "only" or "different" can be considered as mild version of comparative expression utilizing "superlative" and "comparative" degree of adjectives or adverbs respectively. For example, instead of claiming "We are *the best* cotton swab of all cotton swab brands," phrasing "We are the *only* cotton swab that can be called 'cotton swab'" would project a milder impression since the target of comparison is not literally mentioned. In the same way, "We are *different* in so-and-so feature" would sound more modest than "We are *better than* Competitor A in so-and-so feature." Since the intensity of impression produced by these two "types" of comparison is different, separate categories need to be established.

New Model for Comparative Advertising Communication Style

The above discussion helps to modify the existing taxonomies of comparative advertising and to establish a more interculturally applicable model for comparative advertising communication style. The proposed model has two dimensions: (1) "target" (or intensity) of comparison, and (2) "type" (or directionality) of comparison. The first dimension "type" has six different targets:

(1) Explicitly Identified Competitors (labeled as "Explicit Competitors"),

(2) Unidentified/Implied competitors (called as "Implicit Competitors"),
(3) Product category (instead of specific product) as compared object (labeled as "Category"),
(4) No Target
(5) Existing Products/Services (labeled as "Existing Products"), and
(6) Self comparison (labeled as "Self").

The table below shows definition of each category under the dimension, "target" of comparison.

Table 4 - Definition of "Targets" of Comparison

TARGET OF COMPARISON (C-TG)		DEFINITION
C-TG #1	Explicit Competitor	Advertising identifies the competitor(s) either by name and/or logo, or by combination of colors or any identification of the competitor(s) which anyone is able to clearly recognized which brand(s).
C-TG #2	Implicit Competitor	Advertising does not identify the competitor(s) by name or logo, but implicitly refers to it as "other brands," "leading brand(s)," or "Brand X." Sometimes, advertising refers all competitors competitors collectively as "class."
C-TG #3	Category	Advertising compares its advertised product/service, not with specific product/service, but with another category.
C-TG #4	No Target	Advertising does not specify what is the compared object.
C-TG #5	Existing Products	Advertising compared its advertised product/service with existing products/services which are already available in the market. It does not specify whether or not the "existing products" include its own existing (or old model of) products in addition to the competitors'.
C-TG #6	Self	Advertising clearly indicates that the comparison is made with its own existing or old model of products.

As the definitions indicates in Table 4 above, the smaller the number moves from Comparison Target (C-TG) #4 "No Target" to C-TG #1 " Explicit Competitor," the more explicitly the "target" of comparison identifies the competitors' identity. Similarly, the larger the number goes from C-TG #4 "No Target" to C-TG #6 "Self," the more explicitly the target identifies self's identity. This bipolar characteristic of the "type" dimension can be tied to the key cultural dichotomies discussed earlier in this paper. For example, as a comparative ad adopts the smaller number of "target" of comparison, the ad communicates in more "individualistic" style, which is also associated with "primary control" behavior. On the other hand, as a ad adopts the larger number of target shown in Table 4, it communicates in more "collectivistic" style, which is more "secondary control" approach. The diagram below (in Figure 1) shows the relationship among these variables.

Figure 1 - Culture and "Target" of Comparison

"Targets" of Comparison					
C-TG #1	C-TG #2	C-TG #3	C-TG #4	C-TG #5	C-TG #6
Explicit Competitors	Implicit Competitors	Category	No Target	Existing Products	Self

Individualism ——— **Collectivism**
Primary Control ——— **Secondary Control**
Low Context ——— **High Context**
Pure Competitor DCA ——— **Pure IDA** ——— **Pure Self DCA**

Focusing on explicitness in identifying "target" of comparison, the comparative advertising at the both ends (C-TGs #1 and #6) of the comparison "type" typology is "pure direct comparative advertising (pure DCA)" practice; at one (left) end DCA against competitors ("Pure Competitor DCA") and at the other (right) end against oneself ("Pure Self DCA"). And the practice at the center is "pure indirect comparative advertising (pure IDA)" technique.

As indicated in Figure 1, comparative advertising which explicitly identifies its competitor(s) ("Pure Competitor DCA") is more likely to be suitable to individualistic cultures. By explicitly comparing oneself with others, this advertising technique stresses "unique self" or the "I" identity, which individualism place importance on. Such direct and assertive communication style which emphasizes one's own attribute(s) compared to others is very much like primary control behavior. In contrary, an ad which explicitly makes a comparison with its own products is compatible with the interpersonal communication style in collectivistic cultures since it is actually projecting the disadvantages of competitors' products/services by pointing its own weakness of its old/existing product. With this technique, the advertiser, who can keep "*wa* (harmony)" with its competitors. In a sense, as mentioned earlier, this may be the most "indirect" direct comparative advertising technique because the main purpose of this technique is eventually to direct consumers attention to competitors' products, although utilizing "the advertiser itself" as target object. Due to such indirect approach of this technique, C-TG #6 "Self" comparison is more likely to be compatible with high context communication style (see Figure 1). On the other hand, the simplicity of C-TG #1 "Explicit Competitor" in communication is more compatible with low context communication styles.

The second dimension of the proposed model is "type" (or directionality) of comparison, which is composed of five different types as follows: (1) Best , (2) Only, (3) Better, (4) Different, and (5) As Good As (labeled as "AGA"). Below in the table shows examples of each comparison type.

Table 5 - Examples of "Types" of Comparison

TYPES OF COMPARISON (C-TY)		EXAMPLES
C-TY #1	Best	"We are the *best* (in its class/of all three)." "We are *better than any other* brands." "*Nobody is better than* us."
C-TY #2	Only	"*Only* our (brand name) offers convenience." "Our (product name) is the *only* brand that you can call 'deodorant.'" "Competitor A does not have it, Competitor B does not have it, either. *Only* we have it." "(Feature A) is available *exclusively* to our (brand name)."
C-TY #3	Better	"Our (brand name) can deliver packages *faster* (than Competitor A)." "Our (brand name) has *less* calories (than Competitor B)."
C-TY #4	Different	"We are *different* (from Competitor A) in such-and-such attribute." "It is the power of our detergent that is *different*." "Our brand new (product name) is *different* from existing products." "Our (brand name) can stop your headache with one tablet a day, *instead* of all these numbers of tablets (of competing brands)."
C-TY #5	As Good As (AGA)	"We are *as good as* Competitor A in fuel efficiency." "We offer the *same* quality of Competitor B."

As shown in Table 5, comparison Types (C-TYs) #1 through #4 are all differentiative comparison, which stresses "difference(s)" between the advertised brand and the competitors'. C-TY #1 is associative comparison, which emphasizes "similarity" between the advertised brand and the competing brand(s). The proposed model has more detailed categories under "differentiative" comparison than that was proposed by Lamb and his colleagues (1978). From the cultural perspective, as pointed out in the previous section, C-TYs #2 "Only" and #4 "Different" are more culturally milder comparative communication styles than C-TYs #1 "Best" and #3 "Better" respectively, because, in terms of form of comparison, the expression of C-TY #2 and #4 is not as direct as C-TYs #1 and #3 respectively. Therefore, it is expected C-TYs #2 and #4 are more compatible with collectivism cultures where secondary control behavior is valued.

Figure 2 - Culture and "Type" of Comparison

"Types" of Comparison				
C-TY #1	C-TY #3	C-TY #5	C-TY #4	C-TY #2
Best	Better	As Good As	Different	Only

Individualism ———————— **Collectivism**
Primary Control ———————— **Secondary Control**

The figure above shows that the closer toward either end of the diagram, the more emphasized the uniqueness of the advertised product/service. In other words, as the comparative expression used in an ad goes closer to either end of

Figure 2, the ad is more likely to stress that the advertised brand is one and only one that has the advertised quality and attributes in the market. The difference of the expression between the right end (C-TY #1 "Best") and the left end (C-TY #2 "Only") is that C-TY #2 "Only" (expression in the right end) does not utilize comparative form of language in order to express the concept of "comparison." In that sense, therefore, C-TY #2 "Only" can be viewed as an indirect "superlative" degree of comparative form. In a relative sense, people in collectivistic cultures might be comfortable to use such expression as "only" rather than "best" form of comparison when they want to convey something unique or best about themselves. The similar argument can be applied to C-TYs #3 "Better" and #4 "Different."

Combining the two dimensions of the proposed model discussed above enables 30 possible combinations of comparative communication styles. Table 6 below indicates the combinations and its relation to the key cultural variables.

Table 6 -New Model for Comparative Comm. Styles with Cultural Reflection

Coll./Sec. C.	**COMPARISON TYPE**	**Only**	Only x Explicit	Only x Implicit	Only x Category	Only x None	Only x Existing	Only x Self
		Diff.	Diff. x Explicit	Diff. x Implicit	Diff. x Category	Diff. x None	Diff. x Existing	Diff. x Self
		AGA	AGA x Explicit	AGA x Implicit	AGA x Category	AGA x None	AGA x Existing	AGA x Self
		Better	Better x Explicit	Better x Implicit	Better x Category	Better x None	Better x Existing	Better x Self
Ind./Prm. C.		**Best**	Best x Explicit	Best x Implicit	Best x Category	Best x None	Best x Existing	Best x Self
			Explicit Compet.	**Implicit Compet.**	**Category**	**No Target**	**Existing Products**	**Self**
			COMPARISON TARGETS					
			Individualism —— **Collectivism** **Primary Control** —— **Secondary Control**					

In a practical sense, due to the meaning yielded by the combination, the combinations in the shaded cells are less likely to be utilized in actual advertising practice. According to the proposed model of comparative communication style shown in Table 6 above, comparative ads adopting the communication styles which appear closer toward the left-hand bottom corner are more compatible with primary control behavior or individualistic cultures when the ads tries to communicate a differentiative comparison message. Similarly, it is expected that an ad employing the communication styles closer toward the right-hand upper corner is more harmonious with collectivistic cultures when the ad needs deliver a differentiative comparative claim to its audience in the culture. In communicating a associative comparison message, there is no variation in comparison "type" in terms of cultural consideration. For such communication, it is expected that:

(1) a comparative ad communication style closer to the left side of Table 6 (e.g., "AGA x Explicit Competitors") is more suitable to individualistic cultures; and

(2) a comparative ad style closer to the right (e.g., "AGA x Implicit Competitors" or "AGA x Category") is relatively more compatible with collectivistic cultures.

Conclusion and Implication

The most significant and unique attribute is that the proposed model in this study can provide a framework for both intracultural and international analyses and evaluations of various communication styles employed in comparative advertising practice. It is unique because of the following reasons: (1) the new model recognized the categories in "target" (or intensity) and "type" (or directionality) of comparison that have not been conceptualized by the previous models by Lamb et al. (1978) and Barry (1993a), and (2) the model not only provides a basic function of taxonomy which is useful for categorization for comparative advertising format but also adds an intercultural approach to the form. Such integration between classification of comparative advertising style and cultural conceptualization is essential since those polarized cultural variables tied in the model, such as "individualism vs. collectivism," "primary vs. secondary control behavior," and "high vs. low context communication," have a significant influence on how communication in a culture would take place. In addition, by combining the model with other conceptualized models (e.g., advertising effectiveness model such as the FCB Model), both advertising researchers and professionals could narrow their focus on specific styles of comparative advertising practice along with product types, in their future comparative advertising research, creative development, or strategy planning.

Unlike non-comparative ads, due to its unique nature of "comparison," comparative advertising in the U.S. has often brought in a costly battle between companies in Federal courts. In vicious battles between big companies legal fees can hit $200,000 a month, and some cases in past years (Galen, 1989). A systematic, comprehensive taxonomy which can be also applied internationally would not only be essential for better effectiveness research, but also contribute to policy making in order to prevent such wasting battles not only in the U.S. but also in other countries who do not have much experience with comparative ads, by finding out which type of styles are likely to cause conflicts among competitors.

Implication to Future Research

Empirical research studies are encouraged to test the proposed model from various aspects. For example, content analysis of comparative ads in the U.S. and Japan would reveal the distribution of "popular" (or more acceptable) styles of comparative advertising in each country. In addition to the comparative analysis between the U.S. and Japan, similar combination of countries (e.g., other Western countries vs. other Asian countries) would help to see if the proposed model is widely applicable to other individualistic vs. collectivistic countries. It would be also interesting to conduct a survey to investigate the relationship between the individual communication style and their preference of advertising style within each culture/country. In addition, experiments would be another better empirical method to examine such relationship. With the cooperation of an advertising agency, in order to achieve greater control over the commercial content and other variables, it would also be possible to isolate individual factors and test the dissonance phenomenon.

Qualitative research would be needed as well. It is important to look at advertising not only focusing on comparison "target" and "type" but also expanding the focus to qualitative elements such as the use of language and expression, creative elements, e.g., the use of music, gender and type of characters, their face expressions, camera angles, sceneries, colors, etc. Qualitative research would help to explore more detailed attributes of comparative communication expression, which is difficult to detect with quantitative studies.

Further conceptualization work is necessary to improve the model with broader scope, for example, different countries' populations at the center of focus. In addition to the combination of the countries mentioned above, Latin American countries vs. Asian countries, the U.S. vs. African counties, and the U.S. vs. Middle Eastern countries are some examples of interest for future investigations. It may also be interesting to compare, for example, within Asian countries. This may enable to add new variables to the proposed model. Beside cultural values (individualism vs. collectivism), social behavior (primary vs. secondary control behavior), and language characteristics (high vs. low context), other social, psychological, or linguistic variables may also be related to advertising communication style.

Others could also attempt to focus on variables inside cultural boundaries, e.g., some demographic group across different countries according to age, sex, education, etc. This line of conceptualization would greatly contribute to the on-going controversy over standardization vs. specialization in advertising.

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Footnote

1. Summarizing the results of these studies, the following disadvantages of direct comparative advertising are found: (1) For an established brand, DCA is less effective on convincingness and intention to patronize than non-comparative advertising (Shimp & Dyer, 1978; Goodwin & Etgar, 1980); (2) DCA is less effective than non-comparative advertising in terms of immediate and delayed claim recall (Taschchian & Slama, 1984), claim believability and claim recall decay (Murphy & Amundsen, 1981); (3) There are no significant differences between DCA and non-comparative advertising in communication effectiveness, attitude, and purchase intention (Belch, 1981; Taschchian & Slama, 1984); (4) There is no significant difference between DCA and non-comparative advertising for product feature recall (Earl & Pride, 1980) or awareness (Pride et al., 1979); (5) DCA does not create higher awareness of the sponsor brands than non-comparative ads (Levin, 1976); (6) DCA creates greater negative attitudes or skepticism toward the ad and greater sponsor misidentification (Levin, 1976); (7) DCA is no more or no less persuasive (Levin, 1976), no more or no less informative Pride et al., 1979) than non-comparative ads; and (8) The level of neither purchasing nor product involvement differentiate the relative effectiveness of DCA from that of non-comparative advertising (Tashchian & Slama, 1984).

On the other hand, the research studies also found advantageous facets of DCA: (1) DCA is useful or effective in promoting a new or less-known brand in the market (Jain & Hackleman, 1978; Shimp & Dyer, 1978; Golden, 1979; Droge & Darmon, 1987; Iyer, 1988; Gotlieb & Sarel, 1991); (2) DCA works best for convenience goods (Jain & Hackleman, 1978); (3) When a new brand on the market uses DCA, its credibility can be increased (Golden, 1979); (4) DCA helps create a clear and higher product position or image when a product/service is compared to competitors' which have a higher position (Droge & Darmon, 1987; Sujan & Dekleva, 1987; Iyer, 1988; Ishibashi, 1991); (5) DCA engenders a more favorable attitude toward the sponsoring brand if it presents factual rather than evaluative information (Iyer, 1988); (6) In such a situation where frequent repetitions are planned, DCA produces better brand recall (Jain & Hackleman, 1978); (7) DCA helps consumers understand ad massage more clearly (Ishibashi, 1991); (8) DCA has the potential of improving consumer's purchase intentions (Golden, 1979); (9) The individuals who were exposed to a comparative advertisement rated DCA as more informative than did the individuals who were exposed to a non-comparative ad (Earl & Pride, 1980); (10) DCA contains more information cues than non-comparative advertisement (Harmon et al., 1983); and (11) DCA produces more positive attitudes when used to advertised high cognitive and affective involvement products (Putrevu & Lord, 1994).

2. Since 1972 the opinions of advertising professionals regarding the DCA effectiveness have been split. Summarizing their various perspectives, pros of DCA are: (1) The use of DCA on print media is more suitable than TV due to the media's nature such as more space for comparison message and more time for audience to review the claims (Consoli, 1976); (2) DCA creates "'proper doubt' and invites the consumer to try a new products" (Consoli, 1976, p. 14; Morner, 1978; Giges, 1980); (3) DCA "converts the uncommitted to loyal users and rouses no negative reaction in loyal users..., reaffirming their good judgment" (Giges, 1980, p. 62); (4) DCA can be an effective marketing devise when there are demonstrable differences among the products compared (Morner, 1978); (5) DCA can provide a good impact on market in the way a company whose product was attacked in its competitors ads might fight back by improving the product or lowering the price (Morner, 1978); (6) The comparison technique of DCA is very much alike the way consumers behave at home and during shopping ("Media & advertising, 1979) and it guides consumers where to focus during comparisons shopping (Berstein, 1993); (7) DCA goes along with American's philosophy of "a street fighter approach . . . the best man wins" ("Media & advertising, 1979, p. 161); (8) As long as it is truthful, it is all right for DCA to disparage competitors ("Media & advertising, 1979); and (9) Although not always a positive way to do it, DCA is a way to get noticed (Emmrich, 1982).

Opponents of DCA practice claims as follows: (1) DCA is perceived by consumers as no more or no less useful or deceptive than non-comparative ads ("Immediate-gratification," 1976); (2) DCA can reduce the credibility and effectiveness of advertising when used on TV (Consoli, 1976) or when it is not used honestly and accurately ("Broadcasting advertising," 1977; "Comparative ads help," 1977); (3) Even when true and valid, DCA has a risk of the loss of credibility if the comparison is drastically inconsistent with consumer's beliefs (Consoli, 1976; "Pros and Cons," 1976; Media & advertising," 1979); (4) DCA does not increase brand identification, makes consumers unnecessarily more aware of competitors, results in lower belief in claims and is overall no more persuasive (Consoli, 1976; "Media & advertising," 1979; Giges, 1980); (5) DCA confuses consumers and benefits the competitors who are mentioned in ads ("Comparative ads help," 1977; Bernstein, 1993); (6) The use of DCA, which let the world know that it has competition, does not benefit market leaders (Morner, 1978); (7) Hostile claims and counterclaims of DCA can mislead and confuse the consumer (Morner, 1978; "Media & advertising," 1979); (8) DCA may bring a retaliatory attack by the company or companies whose product is challenged ("Media & advertising," 1979); (9) DCA has a risk of causing lengthy, costly lawsuits ("Media & advertising, 1979); (10) When DCA attacks become vicious and competitive between the sponsor and named company, consumers tend to disbelieve both (Giges, 1980); (11) DCA is offensive and a lazy way to advertise ("Media & advertising, 1979); and (12) DCA can "turn the advertising business into a carnival brand name shooting gallery -- noisy, unproductive and unprofessional" (Giges, 1980, p. 60).

As indicated above, the attitudes of advertising practitioners toward DCA is ambivalent. In need of some kind of practical guidance, the advertising professionals have tried to provide recommendations for DCA. Below is the common suggestions found since 1972: (1) If employed, DCA must be honest, and the comparison should be of significant and be truthfully stated (Morner, 1978; "Broadcast advertising, 1977); (2) DCA focusing on price should be avoided since prices of products/services fluctuate, and therefore it is difficult to substantiate the claim (Morner, 1978); (3) DCA should only identify, not disparage competitors ("Pros and cons," 1976); (4) DCA is more suitable to advertise "practical" products with its comparison messages focused on measurable attributes such as weight, price and speed (Giges, 1980); (5) DCA benefit low status brands when low status brands are associated with higher status brands (Giges, 1980).

3. Hasegawa (1990) conducted a content analysis of nearly 850 TV commercials broadcasted in 1989 in order to investigate the informativeness of advertising during prime time in the U.S. and Japan.

4. At an early stage of newborn's life, the Japanese emphasize close alignment (secondary control) between mother and child through "skin-ship." The Japanese child-care book stresses the mother-child bonding by breast feeding. By contrast, in the U.S., breast-feeding is considered to be time-limited and task-oriented to provide nutrition.

5. According to Weisz et al. (1984), child training of social and moral behavior in American society places significantly more importance on primary control than in Japan. Autonomy and individualism are the center of the American child training, while Japanese socialization emphasizes harmony or "goodness of fit" with others. Barnlund (1975) depicted the differences in the socialization of children in the two countries: by learning group skills, American learns to "stand out," which means making their individuality salient, while Japanese learn to "stand in," which means becoming so identified with the group that their individuality is not noticed.

6. A different emphasis is also detected between Christianity and Zen Buddhism on primary and secondary control. Weisz et al.(1984) argued that Christianity emphasizes primary control in many ways in addition to its emphasis on secondary control. A main objective of many Christian sects has been "to alter the world to make it fit their own Christian precepts" (Weisz et al., 1984, p.961). By contrast, Zen Buddhism places a considerably heavier emphasis on secondary control. The important object in Zen Buddhism is "to achieve a state of bliss, enlightenment, or 'transcendental awareness'" by purging oneself of intense desire for unexisting realities without altering existing realities (Weisz et al., 1984, p.961). In many way, Zen emphasizes on a close alignment with realities in the world.

7. Work traditions in the U.S. emphasize primary control, for example, the value of self-reliance, independence, and individual initiatives (Weisz et al. 1984). American workers are more aggressive and change their jobs at much higher rates than Japanese. American emphasis on primary control and Japanese on secondary control can also be found in the way strikes are carried out, the relation between a company and its labor union, business decisions, and a company's attitude toward its employees in each of the two countries.

8. Even in the mental health treatments, the emphasis on primary control and secondary control is different in the U.S. and Japan. American psychotherapy stresses on primary control. In the U.S., the common importance in psychotherapy is to support the patients' effort to identify, then alter their problematic behaviors to fit their world. By contrast, Japanese psychotherapy places an emphasis on secondary control. The purpose here is to alter the patients' perspective on their symptoms rather than to alter them. It encourages patients to accept their anxiety as a natural part of themselves, not as an affixed symptom.

9. See Footnote 3.

Cognitive Dissonance Theory and Advertising: It's Time for a New Look

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Cognitive Dissonance Theory and Advertising: It's Time for a New Look

ABSTRACT

New insights are still being gained from cognitive dissonance theory, introduced 41 years ago. In advertising, however, usage of the theory has been practically non-existent for the past two decades. This is despite research in the mid-1980s linking the theory with the concept of selective exposure. This paper reviews cognitive dissonance theory from pertinent fields and shows how it might be applied by advertising researchers in the future.

Cognitive Dissonance Theory and Advertising: It's Time for a New Look

While Festinger's (1957, 1964) cognitive dissonance theory may be found at the roots of some very basic assumptions dealing with the study of advertising, its use has been nil or practically so in recent research efforts in the field. A search of the Social Sciences Citation Index reveals not one citation of the theory in an academic journal dealing solely with advertising during the past decade and only three citations in the 10 years previous to that.

During the 1980s and 1990s usage of the theory was sparing--but at least existent--in fields related to advertising, including marketing, consumer behavior, and the broader field of communication. In social psychology, the academic discipline of its of origin, cognitive dissonance theory dominated the journals from the late 1950s through the early 1970s (Jones, 1985) and continued to generate research interest in that field at the beginning of this decade (Robertson and Kassarian, 1991). Jones (1985) stated that most social psychologists accept the fact that "insights gained through dissonance-related research are important and lasting," (p. 71) while at the same time noting that the theory had gained "middle-aged respectability." (p. 71)

In the field of advertising it also can be speculated with a great degree of certainty that the contributions of cognitive dissonance theory have been important. But was the theory justifiably retired by advertising researchers as it was reaching middle age? Or are there new insights that may be gained via a new look at the theory?

It is the thesis of this paper that cognitive dissonance theory is still a useful tool for advertising researchers, and its usage today would help to deepen our understanding of the discipline. While the broadest applications of the theory have been utilized in fields related to advertising, narrower but nonetheless helpful and revealing avenues are still available. This paper will examine the origins of the theory, show its broad applications, then look at some recent research efforts. The focus will then switch to implications that directly affect the study of advertising. Finally, this paper will show how cognitive dissonance theory might be used by future advertising researchers. A review of recent literature also reveals that when the theory is invoked, it has sometimes been used--and more often cited--incorrectly. Therefore, it is also hoped that this paper will shed light on the proper uses of the theory.

Background

Cognitive dissonance has its probable origins in Gestalt psychology via the field theory approach of Kurt Lewin (Kassarjian and Robertson, 1981). Jones (1985) traced this relationship as follows: Lewin wrote in 1936 about the spread of tensions within systems, and as an extension of that work, Lewin, Dembo, Festinger, and Sears (1944) postulated a theory of aspiration. Festinger's work with Lewin was evident when gaining his first individual recognition for the theory of social comparison in 1954. Similarities are apparent between that work and cognitive dissonance theory that was introduced three years later.

Eagly and Chaiken (1993) report that Festinger was one of several researchers influenced by Heider's (1946, 1958) balance theory. These theories are known collectively today as cognitive consistency theories. Beside balance and cognitive dissonance, they include Newcomb's (1953, 1959, 1968) strain-toward symmetry model, Osgood and Tannenbaum's (1955) congruity theory, and Rosenberg's (1956, 1960-a, 1960-b, 1968) evaluative-cognitive consistency theory. {For discussions of these theories including their similarities and differences, see Abelson et al. (1968), Eagly and Chaiken (1993), McGuire (1966), and White (1982).}

Sears, Freedman and Peplau (1985) state that the basic notion behind all cognitive consistency theories is that people seek consistency among their cognitions. According to Festinger's original (1957) conceptualization of cognitive dissonance theory, dissonance (or imbalance) between cognitions is psychologically uncomfortable, therefore individuals always seek to achieve consonance (or balance). Further, individuals actively avoid dissonance-producing situations.

Eagly and Chaiken (1993) refer to Festinger's theory as "the jewel in the consistency family crown." (p. 456) Reasons cited for its superiority include greater inclusiveness and the fact that it addresses inconsistencies "between people's attitudes and their behaviors and behavioral decisions and commitments. . ." (Eagly and Chaiken, 1993, p. 470); it encompasses a wider range of situations and includes greater generality (Venkatesen, 1974); it goes beyond the others in its recognition that some cognitions are more resistent to change than others (Jones, 1985).

Venkatesen (1974) cautions that dissonance cannot be treated as a theory of attitudes. Rather, it relates solely to attitude change. Cooper and Fazio (1984) saw two separate dissonance processes going on in attitude change: dissonance arousal and dissonance motivation.

Festinger (1957) drew an analogy between dissonance and drive states such as hunger. Clarifying this, Brehm and Cohen (1962) viewed dissonance as both a drive state and arousal state. Since such states cannot be measured, it is not possible to directly measure dissonance via a scale (Venkatesen, 1974). The same researcher also lamented the lack of specification differentiating levels of dissonance.

Fazio and Cooper (1983) reviewed evidence suggesting that dissonance has physiological arousal properties, although Cacioppo and Petty (1986) question the cause-effect relationship in at least one of these studies. Measured physiological effects have included blood vessel constriction (Gerard, 1967) and spontaneous skin conductance responses (Croyle and Cooper, 1983).

Applications of the theory

Cummings and Venkatesan (1976), Golden et al. (1996), Greenwald (1981), and Robertson and Kassarjian (1991) describe the uses of cognitive dissonance theory as covering two major areas: post-purchase behavior and selective exposure. Research efforts dealing with the theory are organized thusly in this paper.

However, this author would be remiss to not point out that this organizational scheme is not always used. For example, Jones (1985) summarized several ways that the theory of cognitive dissonance has been applied in social psychology. Among the most studied aspects of the theory in social psychology have been "forced compliance" situations, where people are required to engage in attitude descrepant behavior (Jones, 1985). But Robertson and Kassarjian (1991) point out that this type of experiment has fewer applications in consumer behavior because consumers generally have a choice among alternatives.

In a social psychology textbook Sears, Freedman and Peplau (1985) discuss the theory in terms of two major strands: post-decision dissonance and anti-descrepant behavior. Obviously, in advertising and marketing applications, post-decision dissonance would include post-purchase behavior, and anti-descrepant behavior would include selective exposure.

Venkatesen (1974) talked about four areas of the theory that applied to marketing, including selective exposure and post-decision/post-choice dissonance. The two others were described as being corollary to post-decision/post choice.

The sum of this research would seem to provide strong justification for organizing research into the two broad areas of post-decisional (or post purchase) behavior and selective exposure, particularly since this review is focusing on field of advertising and not social psychology.

Post-decisional research

Festinger (1957, 1964) characterized individuals in a pre-decisional phase as being open-minded and as conscientiously scrutinizing the available information and choices, conditions that were substantiated by Venkatesen (1974). But once individuals make a decision, dissonance is responsible for driving them toward a process of rationalizing or justifying that choice by focusing on the positive aspects of the chosen alternative and/or the negative aspects of the rejected alternative(s).

A study cited by Festinger (1957) and the experiment generally credited with being the first to test the idea of post-choice dissonance was conducted by Brehm (1956). In this study women in an introductory psychology class were shown eight small appliances, such as a toaster and radio, and asked to rate them on their desirability. As a gift for participating, subjects were given a choice between two of the products they had just rated. These choices were wrapped and handed to the women. The subjects were then given research reports on many of products they had rated, including the two that had been involved in the choice. The reports were supposedly written by an independent research organization, and each of these reports listed a number of both good and bad features of the rated products. Later, the women were asked to re-rate the products using the same scales as previously. In comparison to their earlier ratings, there was a strong tendency for the women to give higher ratings to the product they had chosen as as gift and lower ratings to the rejected alternative.

A control group in the Brehm experiment went through the same process but instead of being given a choice of what product they would receive as a gift, they were simply given one of the products they had rated highly. On the subsequent re-rating of products, those in the control group showed no tendency to rate higher the product they had been given, thus demonstrating that pride of ownership was not responsible for the differing ratings.

Another oft-cited post-decisional study was conducted by Knox and Inkster (1968), who interviewed gamblers at the betting windows of a horse-racing track. In this case those who had already placed their bets expressed greater confidence that their horse would win in comparison to people who had not yet reached the window.

Several researchers have made conclusions about the post-decisional process after reviewing the available literature. Schewe (1973) determined that buying frequently purchased convenience items may not set off cognitive dissonance. Rather, the theory applies to highly involving issues and major purchases where there may be ego involvement (Korgaonkar and Moschis, 1982; Schewe, 1973). Sheth (1968) showed that prior brand preference affected degree of dissonance. Schewe (1973) and Venkatesen (1974) found increased dissonance with an increasing number of alternatives from which an individual had to choose and when there was greater dissimilarity between the alternatives; this is particularly true if the alternatives are close in their rated desirability (Robertson and Kassarjian, 1991). Dissonance increases with greater brand familiarity (Schewe, 1973). Once the decision is made, it must be perceived as being irreversible (Cooper and Fazio, 1984; Korgaonkar and Moschis,1982; Robertson and Kassarjian, 1991). There must be the perception that there is freedom of choice (Cooper and Fazio, 1984) and sufficient time to think about the choice (Robertson and Kassarjian, 1991). And finally, dissonance will be produced when products fail to meet consumers' intially high expectations (Schewe, 1973).

Additional research efforts in the post-purchase/post-choice area include a theory that deals with regret. While cognitive dissonance relates to increasing the evaluation of chosen alternatives and decreasing the evaluation of rejected alternatives, regret theory deals strictly with nonselected alternatives and foregone opportunities. (For review of regret theory and a discussion of its relationship to cognitive dissonance, see Loomis and Sugden, 1982; Simonson,1992).

Droge and Mackoy (1995) cited both cognitive dissonance and regret theories in a proposed model of consumer satisfaction with products already purchased. The authors speculate that mental processing of information about non-choices play a part in a consumer's level of satisfaction with the choice that was made. Dissatisfied customers are much more apt think about the positive aspects of the unchosen alternative(s), according to these researchers.

Three additional research efforts (Bailey and Billings, 1994; Billings and Scherer, 1988; Mittal et al., 1994) also cited cognitive dissonance theory in examinations of consumer satisfaction. In each of these studies pre- and post-decisional information processing was the subject of scrutiny.

Satisfaction also was a factor in a longitudinal study of cable television audiences (Umphrey, 1991). Individuals showed no differences in pre-decisional attitudes toward the medium, but after they made decisions to change levels of service, upgraders had more favorable attitudes and downgraders less favorable attitudes towards cable television The author cited cognitive dissonance, but it must be noted that making a commitment to a level of cable television service is not an irrevocable decision.

When individuals make predictions about something they might like in the future, Snell and Gibbs (1995) say that cognitive dissonance is not a factor. The authors concluded that classical conditioning is at work in such predictions, but they made no mention of balance theory, which may have contributed.

Martins and Monroe (1994) cited cognitive dissonance as a factor in the perception of price fairness. In this study the focus was on consumer perceptions on how much they would have to pay after finding out how much someone else paid. See Kassarjian and Robertson (1981) for an explanation of earlier price studies.

Selective exposure

Two different studies cited by Festinger (1957) illustrate different, although related, approaches to selective exposure. One of these studies (Lazarfeld,1942) illustrates selective exposure based solely on one's prior attitudes. The second type of selective exposure is related to the post-purchase/post-choice phenomena in that it serves as a dissonance-reducing strategy. For this the Ehrlich et al. (1957) research was cited. Both studies are discussed below.

The Lazarfeld research, where selective exposure was based on one's prior attitudes, examined the listening audience of a series of educational radio programs. The purpose of each program was to show how a selected ethnic group had contributed to American culture. Overall, it was hoped the programs would promote tolerance between ethnic groups as individuals gained a more in-depth understanding of the other groups. However, the objective of the programs was not realized because members of the various groups exposed themselves only to the program that praised their group, a behavior consistent with prior attitudes. They avoided the programs praising the other groups, because, as cognitive dissonance theory would predict, such information was descrepant with existing attitudes.

The Ehrlich et al. (1957) study, which dealt with selective exposure following a major purchase, centered on the newspaper ads to which individuals exposed themselves after buying an automobile. According to the study, individuals sought out ads that were supportive of that recent decision. This finding would be predicted by cognitive dissonance theory and would seem to be a way of alleviating dissonance following the purchase. But contrary to the theory, individuals did not avoid ads for rejected cars. In fact, the readership of ads for rejected cars was slightly greater than for cars that had never been considered.

In attempting to clarify these results, Mills (1965), one of the co-authors in the Ehrlich et al. study, speculated that the subjects were actually seeking faults in the rejected cars or that the cars they had rejected were still more desirable than the cars that had not been considered.

Because of the loose ends found in the Ehrlich et al. study and other research efforts, Freedman and Sears (1965) concluded that selective exposure did not fit cognitive dissonance theory, and this quieted research efforts in that area for several years. This corresponded with a time period that Eagly and Chaikin (1993) characterize as being pessimistic for attitude research in general.

However, there was some research efforts during this time that explored the relationship of cognitive dissonance and selective exposure. For example, Schewe (1973) cited studies to back up an assertion that individuals high in self confidence seek out descrepant information in order to refute it. Tan (1975) explored coping mechanisms used by individuals exposed to descrepant information, and in a 1978 study the same researcher found some blacks and Mexican-Americans avoiding entertainment programming on television because of negative ethnic portrayals of the groups. Feingold and Knapp (1977) speculated that cognitive dissonance was a factor in a boomerang effect when individuals who were already against drugs became more favorable toward them after being exposed to anti-drug messages. Since the subjects were already against drugs, however, it cannot be said that the anti-drug messages produced dissonance, and the effect produced had to be attributable to some other factor.

More than a decade after Freedman and Sears (1965) said there was no connection, scholars started taking new looks at the relationship between selective exposure and cognitive dissonance (For example, see Cotton and Hieser, 1980; Frey and Wicklund, 1978; Frey, 1981). By the middle of the 1980s, separate reviews of literature (Cotton,1985; Frey,1986) each concluded that selective exposure was, indeed, a function of cognitive dissonance. (Frey's work contains original research and a greater degree of depth.) More recently, Eagly and Chaiken (1993) substantiated the relationship while reviewing the available literature.

But even though it is now believed there is a connection between selective exposure and cognitive dissonance theory, according to Frey (1986), the relationship is not as conceptualized by Festinger in either its original (1957) form or even in the (1964) reformulation that was specifically written to address the issue. As was demonstrated in the Ehrlich et al. (1957) findings, there has been much stronger evidence on information seeking rather than information avoidance, and research efforts have reflected this (Frey, 1986).

Festinger did not consider that individuals would prefer dissonant information under the following circumstances: when they have the ability to counterargue the dissonant-producing information, when they perceive that having the dissonant information will be helpful to them in the long run, or when the individual is already familiar with consonant information (Frey, 1986).

Festinger also viewed dissonance as increasing curvilinearly with increasing dissonance. But, according to Frey (1986), this relationship is only observed when the attitude or action is perceived as being reversible. When there is a perception of irreversibility, selective exposure increases linearly with increasing dissonance. (Irreversibility of a decision was one of the necessities for dissonance cited in the section on post-choice dissonance. If this finding is not at odds with the earlier conclusions, it would be attributable to the different circumstances under which the dissonance is produced.)

Not all of Festinger's predictions have been repudiated, though. Research has shown that if both supportive and non-supportive information are strong, such as coming from highly credibile sources, supportive information is preferred (Eagly and Chaiken, 1993). But if the information from both sides is weak, non-supportive information may be deemed as acceptable,

If researchers are going to make predictions about selective exposure, in the opinion of Frey (1986), they must consider "the person's entire cognitive system" (p. 73) because what at first may appear to be dissonant information may actually be helpful to the individual in the long-term.

In affirming the relationship between selective exposure and cognitive dissonance theory, Eagly and Chaiken (1993), added that it is "of considerably more complexity than originally believed." (p. 595) They also caution that the laboratory may be a poor context for examining the relationship.

With television remote control devices going into widespread usage, Zillman and Bryant (1985-b) noted in their introduction to an edited book on the subject (Zillman and Bryant (1985-c) that selective exposure had become a "low energy, armchair behavior" (p. 3), while Heeter and Greenberg (1985) associated the device with a greater likelihood of "zapping" commercials.

Aspects of selective exposure covered in the Zillman and Bryant (1985-c) volume include its relationship to: entertainment programming on television and the audience's informational needs (Atkin, 1985); existing pre-dispositions, including aggressive persons seeking violent programming (Atkin, 1985; Gunter, 1985); demographics, mood, psychological attributes, and viewer personality in television viewing (Gunter, 1985); both moods and emotional states (Zillman and Bryant, 1985-a); a number of psychological variables and media exposure (Fenigstein and Heyduk,1985); fear of being a crime victim and to crime drama on television (Zillman and Wakshlag, (1985); educational television (Wakshlag,1985), and both cable television and remote control devices (Heeter and Greenberg,1985).

It has been long accepted that cognitive dissonance affects selectivity beyond exposure. For example, in the Brehm (1956) experiment the research reports read by some of the subjects contained both good points and bad points about each of the appliances. Selective attention and/or selective perception undoubtedly were at work when the subjects looked at the research reports; they were more apt to perceive the positive points of the appliance they had selected as a gift and the negative points of the unselected alternative. This was one method of alleviating dissonance that was discussed by Kassarjain and Robertson (1981). For a review of the literature on selective attention, selective perception and judgment, and selective memory, see Eagly and Chaiken (1993). Tellis (1988) also explains these phenomena.

There have been several recent research efforts exploring cognitive dissonance and selective exposure.

Golden et al. (1996) found that both Hispanics and Anglo-Americans would expose themselves to ecological information, although these researchers wrongly give equal footing to both selective exposure and selective avoidance as being a part of cognitive dissonance theory.

In another study examining an issue of ethnicity, Lai, Tan and Tharp (1990) found no difference between white models and Asian models on measures of advertising recall, on intentions to buy the advertised product, or on attitudes toward the ad, model or advertised product. These researchers cited both dissonance and balance theory in their review of literature, and they correctly attribute their findings of this research to balance theory.

Edelstein (1993) cited the theory in relationship to agenda-setting. It was hypothesized that cognitive dissonance was aroused when individuals are exposed to bad news. As an example, the author used the war in Bosnia. However, such news may not be personally important or involving for the reader/viewer/listener, and thus cognitive dissonance may not actually be aroused.

Cognitive dissonance was used by Youichi (1993) to explain how the mass media in Japan suffer from source credibility problems in relationship to information from interpersonal sources.

Reith (1996) found a positive relationship between unemployment rates and selective exposure to crime drama on television. Collins and Abel (1985) hypothesized that both selective exposure and a need for variety would affect the viewing of news programming on television, but these expectations were not matched by their findings.

In a study on the use of music by adolescents for mood enhancement, Wells and Hakanen (1991) viewed mood management theory (Zillman, 1988) as expanding upon the parameters of cognitive dissonance theory.

Advertising

In the foregoing pages this paper has drawn on literature from various fields to explain the theory of cognitive dissonance and outline the most recent research efforts dealing with it. Of course, many uses have been purposely overlooked because they came from other fields (i.e. law, social work, nursing, accounting) and lacked relevance.

The studies selected for inclusion here have been those with either direct or indirect implications for the study of advertising. Research findings with the more indirect applications have come from the broader field of communication or from social psychology, consumer behavior, or marketing. A marketing study, for example, may have an indirect effect on advertising because it could focus on aspects of the product, and this is related to study of advertising because the advertising message will also deal with the product. However, there have been a few studies cited above which have focused directly on advertising issues (i.e. Heeter and Greenberg, 1985; Lai, Tan and Tharp, 1990). With the theory explained, this relatively short section of the paper deals exclusively with cognitive dissonance studies and their relationship to advertising.

Most of the research in this area focuses on aspects of the message. Cognitive dissonance theory was cited by Stewart et al. (1985) in an article examining the theoretical underpinnings of advertising copy-testing methods. Venkatesen (1974) notes that when products fail to meet expectations, there are obvious ramifications for advertising claims. Korgaonkar and Moschis (1982) conclude that advertisers should understate rather than overstate product performances. For expensive goods that might be subject to post-purchase dissonance, Schewe (1973) suggests providing consumers with plenty of information, including advertising, that will assure them that they have made a wise choice. Durgee (1986) used cognitive dissonance theory to explain self-esteem advertising, messages designed to alter consumer attitudes towards products by stimulating positive feelings towards themselves. (i.e. "You've come a long way, baby.") Parallel with the Durgee research but centering on inter-personal relationships was an article by Knapp, Hooper and Bell (1984) that cited the theory while exploring compliments.

In a marketing-oriented study Marks and Kamins (1988) found greater attitude change when advertising is followed by product sampling in comparison to sampling followed by advertising. If there was a disconfirming sampling experience, attitude change was greater for individuals who had been exposed to a highly exaggerated advertising message in comparison to a slightly exaggerated ad.

Tan (1975) tied in cognitive dissonance theory to the topic of source credibility and opinion change. This can be related to the use of advertising spokespersons and to the perception of advertising as a whole because it comes from a biased source. Fame of an advertising spokesperson increased brand attitudes (Heath, Mothersbaugh, and McCarthy, 1993). Mazursky and Schul (1988) found the sleeper effect not present when subjects did not elaborate on or integrate message information or when the request to elaborate was delivered after a discounting cue.

Furse and Stewart (1984) explored the effects of incentives on survey mail rates. It may be speculated that these findings have ramifications on some forms of direct mail.

As far as the role of advertising, it is more effective in increasing the volume purchased by loyal consumers of that brand but is not as effective in persuading current non-users to use a brand (Tellis, 1988).

Recommendations for future research

The dearth of studies dealing directly with advertising leads us to recommendations for future research.

With the findings from the mid-1980s regarding the relationship of selective exposure and cognitive dissonance, it is surprising that the literature reveals no research efforts exploring selective exposure to advertising. When one considers the Frey (1986) findings, this is a topic that is ripe for exploration. Of all the disciplines connected with the study of communication, advertising is the one most appropriate for the study of selective exposure in the post-purchase arena. There are also many unanswered questions pertaining to selective exposure to advertising based on one's prior attitudes.

In his chapter on selective exposure, Frey (1986) makes a number of recommendations for future researchers. Those with the most obvious implications for advertising researchers are: 1) explore the circumstances under which there is selective seeking to advertising that supports previous attitudes and also selective seeking to advertising that is descrepant with prior attitudes; 2) analyze cognitive dissonance in relationship to both remembering and forgetting of advertising; 3) use groups--rather than individuals--to study the theory.

Most advertising research to date has focused on aspects of the message. Is it possible that there is selective exposure to entire classes of media? This question seems especially relevant with the new media environment, including the Internet.

Since there was evidence that cognitive dissonance yields physiological responses, Robertson and Kassarjian (1991) recommended that such measurements be used to study cognitive dissonance in the field of consumer behavior. The same recommendation can be made for advertising. Physiological responses to advertising have been measured in a number of ways (Klebba, 1985). It would seem that the measurement of physiological responses hold promise for gauging the intensity of cognitive dissonance, something that has thus far eluded researchers.

Finally, since it was originally introduced in 1957, there have been many changes in cognitive dissonance theory. Brehm and Cohn (1962) suggested major alterations, and Festinger himself proposed a different version of the theory in 1964. For nearly two decades it has been acknowledged that the original theory was little more than a blueprint for the more recent versions (See Calder, 1981; Frey, 1986; Golden, Frels, Vincent and de los Santos,1996.) In fact, Cooper and Fazio (1984) suggest that the theory has evolved so much, it could be said that Festinger's original version has been disproved, and a new name would would be appropriate. Despite this evolution, several recent research efforts related either to advertising or the mass media (Edelstein, 1993; Green; 1996; Reith, 1996; Wells and

Hakanen, 1991; Youichi, 1993) cite only Festinger (1957) when using the theory. If cognitive dissonance theory is going to be used by contemporary researchers focusing on advertising, it needs to be both used and cited correctly.

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Political Advertising and Candidate Appraisal:

How Political Advertisements Prime Voters to Evaluate Candidates and Influence Vote Choice

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Abstract

An exploratory experimental design based on a political psychology candidate appraisal model is used to evaluate voter assessment of candidates' messages in the form of televised political advertisements. Political commercials are a major source of voter information during campaign periods. This paper addresses how, in differing political environments, candidates' commercials "prime" the electorate and affect the candidate appraisal process. A modified candidate appraisal model is proposed and suggestions for future research are given.

POLITICAL ADVERTISING AND CANDIDATE APPRAISAL:

HOW POLITICAL ADVERTISEMENTS PRIME VOTERS TO EVALUATE CANDIDATES AND INFLUENCE VOTE CHOICE

Political advertising, debates, interviews, press conferences, and staged events are only a few of the channels campaign consultants manipulate to construct carefully crafted media images of their candidates. Voters, then, rely on these determinants expressed in the media to weigh considerations and develop candidate constructs (Just, Crigler, Alger, Cook, Kern, & West, 1996). Research suggests that people learn more from watching political advertisements than from watching television news (Atkin & Heald, 1976; Patterson & McClure, 1976; Schleuder, McCombs, & Wanta, 1991). Therefore, television advertising receives a considerable portion of the campaign budget and is a worthy topic of study.

Research shows that relevant issues and personal traits of candidates are available in the content of political advertisements (Joslyn, 1980, 1981; Kaid & Davidson 1986; Kern 1989; Shyles 1984). It is possible for a voter's candidate appraisal to be altered by one piece of information (Markus, 1982; Kinder, 1986; Brady & Johnston, 1987). Although the relevant importance of this information is often off set by prior knowledge, advertisements can influence voters' impressions of even well-known politicians (Kahn & Geer, 1994).

Since advertisements appear to be more effective than other channels used to convey political information, understanding why and how this effect occurs is an important goal for advertising research. And "while there are good reasons to expect ads to influence the attitudes of voters, there is, surprisingly, a limited amount of previous research that tests these effects" (Kahn & Geer, 1994, p. 95).

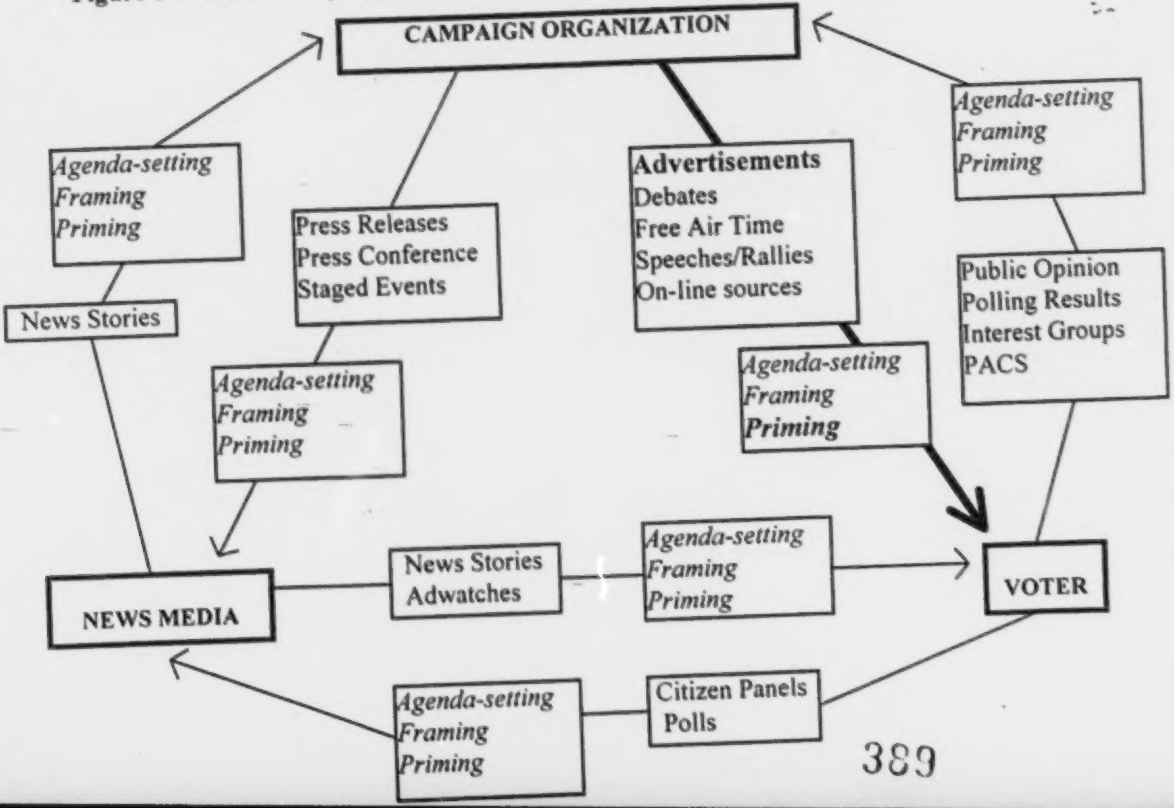
Literature Review

The current study is concerned with the impact of different political environments on candidate evaluation processes, specifically, a negative advertisement environment, a positive advertisement environment, and a combination environment. *How do different political environments prime voters to evaluate candidates and how is this evaluation processed by voters?*

Theoretical Model

There are three major participants in modern democratic election campaigns: the candidates, the media, and the voters (Buchanan, 1991; Covington, Kroeger, Richardson, & Woodward, 1993). Figure 1 illustrates the process these three players go through as they constantly attempt to set the others' agendas and prime the others to evaluate elements in a particular frame.

Figure 1 Political Campaign Communication Diagram (Fiebich & Williams, 1998)


CAMPAIGN ORGANIZATION
Agenda-setting
Framing
Priming
Agenda-setting
Framing
Priming
Advertisements
Debates
Free Air Time
Speeches/Rallies
On-line sources
Press Releases
Press Conference
Staged Events
News Stories
Public Opinion
Polling Results
Interest Groups
PACS
Agenda-setting
Framing
Priming
Agenda-setting
Framing
Priming
News Stories
Adwatches
Agenda-setting
Framing
Priming
NEWS MEDIA
VOTER
Agenda-setting
Framing
Priming
Citizen Panels
Polls

Through various channels, campaign organizations, news media, and voters send messages framed in particular ways. In the case of the campaign organizations, specific framing and priming goals are carefully crafted by campaign consultants. The framing and priming by the news media and voters, although generally less constructed, are present. By emphasizing certain traits or issues, advertisements can prime voters' attitudes (Iyengar, Peters, & Kinder, 1982; Iyengar & Kinder, 1987). In this study, we are concerned with the leg of the triangle running from the campaign organization to the voter. The message channel being examined is paid political television commercials and the effect being measured is the influence of the commercials on voters' assessments of candidates.

Considerable research has been conducted on the effects of negative and positive advertisements (Merritt, 1984; Garramone, 1984; Kahn & Geer, 1994). Negative advertisements are attacks on a candidate's image (Kahn & Geer, 1994). Choi and Becker (1987) note that campaign issues and candidate images portrayed in the media are important determinants in vote choice. Our goal is to determine whether different political environments created only by exposure to candidate advertising will have an effect on the candidate appraisal process.

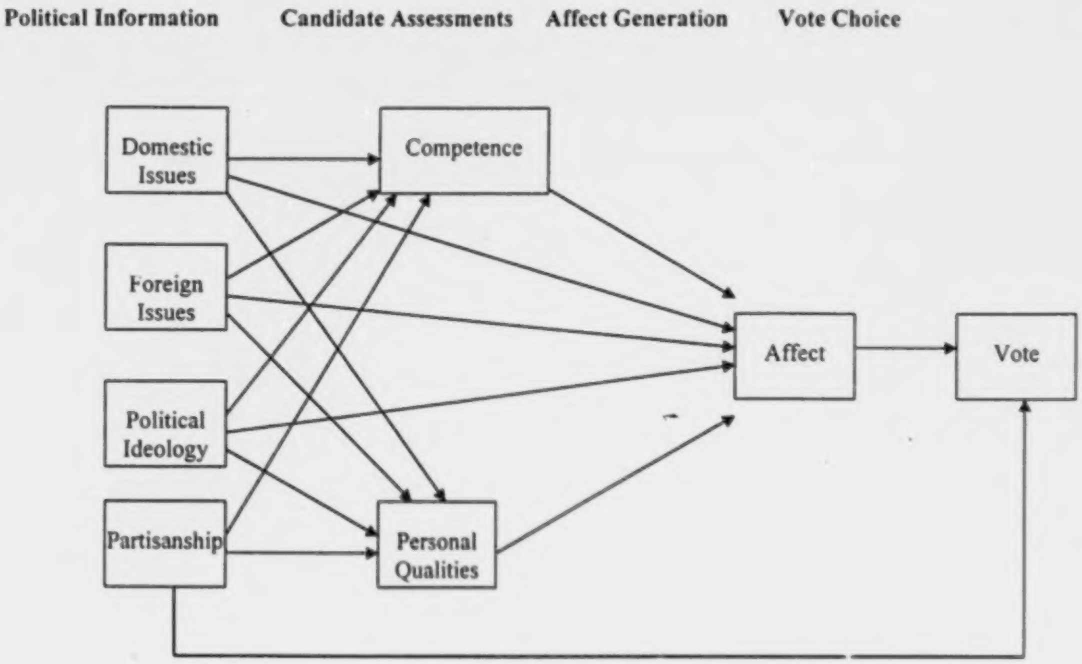
A Political Psychology Model of Candidate Appraisal

Researchers in political cognition focus on how individuals perceive and think about candidates, issues, and political events (Lau and Sear, 1986; Rahn, Aldrich, Borgida, Sullivan, 1990). These studies, drawing on cognitive psychology, behavioral decision theory, and social cognition, provide insight into voter perception and evaluation of political candidates. The decision rule in many voter choice models in political science is that the individual votes for the candidate receiving the highest net evaluation (Brody & Page, 1973; Kelley and Mirer, 1974). Many political science researchers are suggesting a shift from predicting vote choice to understanding how candidates are evaluated (Stokes, Campbell, & Miller, 1958; Kagay and Caldiera, 1975).

Rahn, Aldrich, Borgida, and Sullivan (1990) contend that "the rich and often redundant flow of political information in a presidential election year, combined with the relative simplicity of a choice between two presidential candidates, leads to relatively similar assessment and decisional processes for most individuals" (p. 188). They argue that the campaigns facilitate the formation of voters' perceptions of candidates by emphasizing particular candidate traits such as professional competence and personal qualities. This candidate evaluation process leads to an overall assessment of the candidates' competency, leadership, and personal qualities, and to the voters' perceptions of the candidates. In the same way that Iyengar and Kinder (1986) found media coverage to prime individuals to consider such traits in candidate evaluations, traits expressed in campaign advertising could effect the candidate evaluation process.

Rahn *et. al.* (1990) created a model of candidate appraisal based on five assumptions. First, voters appraise candidates in the same way that they assess the character of everyday individuals and once that initial impression is made additional information on that individual "is often perceived to be largely confirmatory" (p. 191). The second assumption is that context "primes" political cues. These political cues are then considered in varying degrees in the development of candidate images creating an appraisal process. Third, voters distinguish between a candidate's political characteristics and personal qualities. Fourth, impressions of a candidate are part of this candidate appraisal process. Fifth, voting, in this context, is a simple decision for most. Figure 2 depicts Rahn *et. al.'s* (1990) model of candidate appraisal.

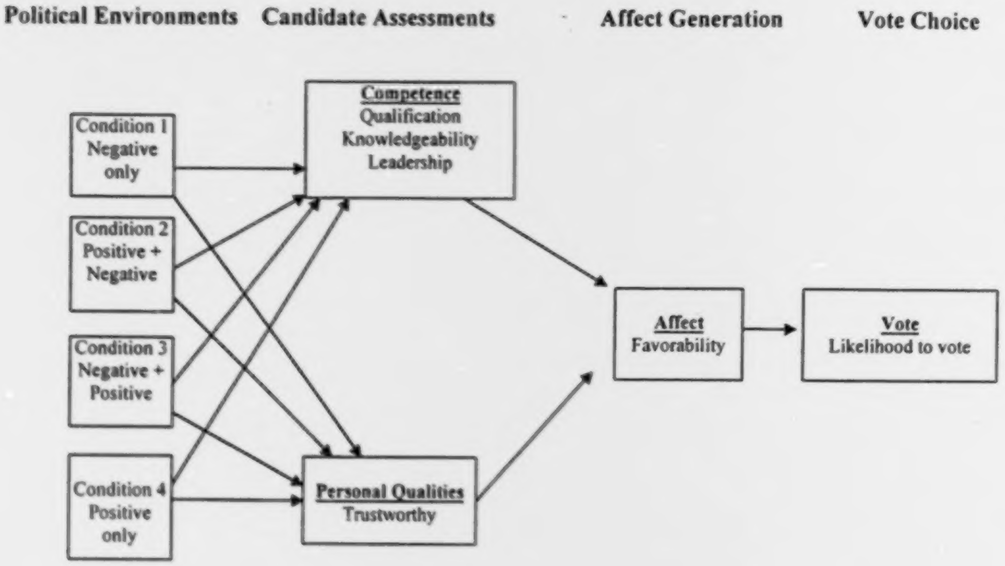
Figure 2 A Model of Candidate Appraisal (Borrowed from Rahn, Aldrich, Borgida and Sullivan, 1990)


Political Information
Candidate Assessments
Affect Generation
Vote Choice
Domestic Issues
Foreign Issues
Political Ideology
Partisanship
Competence
Personal Qualities
Affect
Vote

The candidate appraisal model is usually tested in relation to political information acquired throughout an entire campaign. In this paper, we use an experimental design that focuses on the Candidate Appraisal Model. Like Kahn and Geer's (1994) study, our experiment is an attempt to test this model early in a campaign when paid political advertisements are often the sole information source. Can ads prime voters to form impressions of a single, unknown candidate? Are subjects primed by different types of political advertising to assess candidates on the bases of competence and/or personal qualities? Does this, then, have an effect on candidate favorability and voting preference? Admittedly, our analysis is exploratory, but the findings will improve our understanding of how political advertisements affect voters' perceptions of candidates in the beginning stages of a campaign.

To address these questions, the model developed by Rahn et. al. was modified by replacing the issues under the first phase of the appraisal process labeled "Political Environment" with experimental conditions featuring negative and positive political advertisements (see Figure 3 below).

Figure 3 A Modified Model of Candidate Appraisal in Experimental Conditions (Adopted from Rahn, Aldrich, Borgida and Sullivan, 1990)


Political Environments
Candidate Assessments
Affect Generation
Vote Choice
Condition 1 Negative only
Condition 2 Positive + Negative
Condition 3 Negative + Positive
Condition 4 Positive only
Competence
Qualification
Knowledgeability
Leadership
Personal Qualities
Trustworthy
Affect
Favorability
Vote
Likelihood to vote

Based on the literature review and the revised model of candidate appraisal shown above, the following predictions can be made:

H1: *Subjects exposed to a positive condition will form the most positive assessment; subjects exposed to a more balanced condition will form a less positive assessment; and subjects exposed to a negative condition will form the least positive assessment.*

H2: *A subject who evaluates a candidate high in competence and personal qualities will develop a more positive affect toward the candidate compared to a subject who evaluates a candidate lower in competence and personal qualities.*

H3: *A subject who feels more positively affective toward a candidate will be more likely to vote for that candidate than a subject who feels negatively affective toward a candidate.*

Method

Subjects

To test the above hypotheses, one hundred and twenty seven (127) undergraduate journalism students at the University of Minnesota participated as subjects in an experiment. The students were randomly assigned to one of four experimental conditions. Kahn and Geer (1994) contend that "college students may be more resistant to the effects of political commercials than a more representative sample from the general population" due to their high levels of political sophistication (p. 100).

Experimental Design

Two political advertisements were selected to produce the four experimental conditions (see Table 1 below). The two political advertisements featured Earl Strinden a candidate running for office in the 1988 U.S. Senate race in North Dakota.[1] One of the political advertisements featured Strinden in a positive manner and the other political advertisement, which was negative, featured an attack on Strinden by an anonymous sponsor. Strinden was not identified as neither the incumbent nor the challenger and information on party affiliation was not provided.

Table 1: Experimental Conditions

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[1] In order to select the political advertisements for the final experiment, we conducted a pilot test of twelve advertisements from the same U.S. Senate race. Six of the ads featured candidate Earl Strinden with three of the ads being positive and three negative. The other six ads featured Strinden's opponent, Quentin Burdick, with three ads being positive and three negative. Twelve graduate students from the University of Minnesota's School of Journalism and Mass Communication viewed the ads and measured them based on valence. The final selection of the two ads, one positive and one negative, featured Earl Strinden. The ads were not extremely negative or positive in valence but rather were about the same difference from neutral. This created an information environment similar to actual election campaign.

Condition	Type of Political Advertisement
1	Anonymous Sponsor's Negative Ad
2	Strinden's Positive Ad + Anonymous Sponsor's Negative Ad
3	Anonymous Sponsor's Negative Ad + Strinden's Positive Ad
4	Strinden's Positive Ad

As indicated in Table 1, the first condition is a negative environment and is operationalized by exposing subjects to a negative political advertisement. Condition 2 is a balanced environment and it is operationalized by exposing subjects to a positive political advertisement then to a negative political advertisement. Condition 3 is also a balanced environment and it is operationalized by exposing subjects to a negative political advertisement then to a positive political advertisement. Condition 4 is a positive environment and it is operationalized by exposing subjects to a positive political advertisement.

To increase the external validity of the experiment, the actual campaign commercials used by Strinden in the 1988 race for U.S. Senate in North Dakota were embedded into a series of product commercials in each condition. The product commercials included Broadstrike Weed Control System, Ocean Spray, Isuzu cars, Contadina sauces and pastas, and Mighty Dog food. While this may have provided a more "realistic" setting, experimental designs are used to increase internal validity in order to ascertain the direction of causality.

Measurement of Dependent Variables

Candidate assessment refers to the evaluation a voter makes regarding a candidate. The revised candidate appraisal model divides candidate assessment into two dependent variables, competence and personal qualities. Competence is operationalized by asking subjects to rate

Strinden on perceived knowledgeability, qualifications, and strength of leadership. Personal qualities is operationalized by asking subjects to rate how much they trust Strinden as a political candidate. Affect refers to the emotions a voter feels toward a candidate and is operationalized by asking subjects how favorable they feel toward Strinden. Vote choice is operationalized by asking subjects how likely they are to vote for Strinden. Each dependent variable is measured using a 9-point rating scale.

Procedure

At the beginning of the experiment, subjects were told they would view a pod of advertisements and would then answer questions regarding their effectiveness. Following the viewing session, which took approximately three minutes, subjects were asked to complete a questionnaire. The first page of the questionnaire referenced the Ocean Spray product and asked subjects to rate it on the following measurements: quality, trustworthy, likelihood to buy, likelihood to be successful, and favorability. The second page of the questionnaire focused on political candidate Earl Strinden and asked subjects to rate him on the following measurements: qualification, trustworthiness, leadership, knowledgeability, favorability, likelihood to vote and likelihood to win. The third page of the questionnaire included open-ended questions which asked respondents to identify the key information they recalled from the Ocean Spray commercial, the Earl Strinden commercial(s) and the Isuzu Car Commercial. The fourth page of the questionnaire asked standard demographic questions including age, major, and party. (See Appendix C for a copy of the questionnaire.)

Confounding Variables

Two potentially confounding variables were controlled for within the experiment. The first addressed previous exposure to the candidate featured in the political ad. If subjects had been previously exposed to the candidate, their impressions of the candidate might be prejudiced. Therefore, advertisements were selected from a campaign run in North Dakota during a U.S. senate race and none of the subjects indicated prior knowledge of the featured candidate, Earl Strinden.

Partisanship presents another confounding variable that could influence the results of our study. For example, if a subject's partisan affiliation conflicted with the featured candidate's party, the subject may evaluate the candidate less favorably. In order to control for this confounding variable, we chose ads that did not reference the candidate's party affiliation. The findings indicated that party was not a confounding factor.

Results

When measuring assessment of the candidate in the four different conditions, we asked subjects questions about the candidate along six aspects: qualification, trustworthy, leadership, favorability, knowledgeability, likelihood to win. (See Appendix B for details of the Multiple Comparison of 4 experimental conditions in each aspects of candidate assessment.) Based on a high alpha (a=.91) in reliability analysis on these seven items, we summated them into a new variable called *overall assessment*, Table 2 shows that in four experimental conditions, subjects exposed to a positive political advertisement (Condition 4) developed a statistically significant assessment more favorable of senatorial candidate, Strinden than subjects exposed to a negative political advertisement (Condition 1), and also more favorable than subjects viewing both negative and positive ads (Condition 2 and 3).

Hypothesis 1: (Fully supported)

Table 2: Post Hoc Tests (LSD) of Mean Evaluation of Four Experimental Conditions

	Negative Condition (μ=24.16)	*Positive+Negative Condition (μ=31.26)*	*Negative+Positive Condition (μ=32.47)*	*Positive Condition (μ=39.13)*
Negative Condition (μ=24.16)		$\rho = .00$**	$\rho = .00$**	$\rho = .00$**
Positive+Negative Condition (μ=31.26)			$\rho = .56$	$\rho = .00$**
Negative+Positive Condition (μ=32.47)				$\rho = .00$**
Positive Condition (μ=39.13)				

**. The mean difference is significant at the .01 level.

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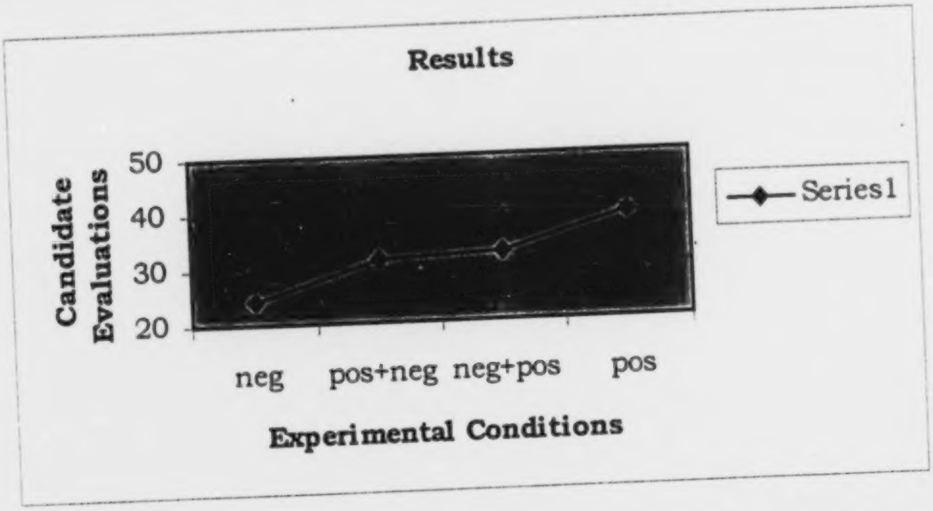
Further, subjects in Condition 1, who were shown only a negative political ad attacking Strinden, evaluated him significantly less favorably than those subjects in Condition 4 (positive only political ad) and also gave a significantly less favorable evaluation than subjects in both Conditions 2 and 3 (give both positive and negative ads). Thus, the first hypothesis is fully supported and the first phase of the Candidate Appraisal Model is confirmed.

Figure 4 General Candidate Assessment



However, in comparing Conditions 2 and 3 (see Figure 4), we find that subjects tend to give similar candidate assessment when they are exposed to both positive and negative information. Therefore, for subsequent analyses, we combine Condition 2 and 3 together and formed an adjusted Condition 2/3. Further data analysis is based on the three adjusted conditions listed in Table 3.

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Table 3: Adjusted Experimental Conditions

Condition	Type of Political Advertisement
1	Strinden's Negative Ad
2/3	Strinden's Positive Ad + Anonymous Sponsor's Negative Ad Anonymous Sponsor's Negative Ad + Strinden's Positive Ad
4	Strinden's Positive Ad

Hypothesis 2: (Partially supported)

According to Rahn, Aldrich, Borgida and Sullivan (1990), when evaluating political candidates, both a candidate's "professional competence and their personal qualities were very powerful predictors of respondents' emotional relations to the candidates" (p. 196). To assess the second phase of the Model of Candidate Appraisal, aiming at our second hypothesis, we computed two new variables: (1) To measure candidate *competence*, we summed subjects' evaluations of qualifications, leadership and knowledgeability. (The reliability coefficient, exceeded .70 in each condition.) (2) Candidate's *personal qualities* were measured by subjects' evaluation of a single item, trustworthy. Subjects' emotional *affect* toward the candidate is measured by the question, "How favorable do you feel toward Strinden?"

Table 4 Affect Equation – 3 Conditions Model

	Negative Only		*Positive+Negative/ Negative+Positive*		*Positive Only*	
	Beta	*Sig.*	*Beta*	*Sig.*	*Beta*	*Sig.*
Competence	.67	.000***	.32	.001***	.61	.015*
Personal qualities	.21	.160	.60	.000***	.11	.641
Constant	-.492		-2.1		-1.193	
Adjusted R^2	.653		.702		.463	
N	32		63		31	

* Significant at α=.05 level.
** Significant at α=.01 level.
*** Significant at α=.001 level.

The results in Table 4, using regression analysis, provide partial support for our second hypothesis. In comparing the three conditions, our discussion focuses on the standardized coefficients. Examining the figures in Table 6-4, the impact of *competence* on *affect* is strong for all three conditions; while the impact of *personal qualities* are only significant in Condition 2/3 when both negative and positive ads are combined. The standardized coefficients for Condition 1 are .67 for *competence* and .21 for *personal qualities*; for Condition 4 are .61 for *competence* and .11 for *personal qualities.*

This result suggests two possibilities: First, it suggests that, as we predicted, students in the School of Journalism and Mass Communication are high in political sophistication, thus they tend to develop their affect toward the candidate based more upon their assessment of professional competence than on their assessment of personal qualities.

Second, our result reveals that subjects process candidate appraisal similarly in one-sided political information Conditions 1 and 4, which differ from the two-sided information condition 2/3. It suggests that subjects tend to balance their feelings toward the candidate based on his professional *competence* and *personal qualities* more equally when they are given information from both positive and negative sides. When exposed to only positive or negative information, subjects were more likely to use candidate's professional competence than candidate's personal qualities in developing an overall affective reaction to the candidate. This finding parallels Rahn (1990) *et. al.*'s result for more politically sophisticated subjects.

Hypothesis 3: (Fully supported)

The Model of Candidate Appraisal contends that "voting is a relatively uncomplicated decision for most people" and "one votes for the candidate one like best" (Rahn, Aldrich, Borgida and Sullivan, 1990, p. 192). Therefore, based on the third phase of their model, we examine the coefficient between subjects' *affect* toward the candidate and their *voting choice* for the candidate (Hypothesis 3), while, at the same time, examining the coefficients between *voting choice* for the candidate and the subjects' assessment of candidate competence and personal qualities. *Voting choice* is measured by subjects' likelihood to vote for Strinden. The result is presented in Table 5.

Table 5 Vote Equation -- 3 Conditions Model

	Negative Only		*Positive+Negative/ Negative+Positive*		*Positive Only*	
	Beta	*Sig.*	*Beta*	*Sig.*	*Beta*	*Sig.*
Affect	.95	.000***	.63	.000***	.74	.000***
Competence	-.33	.081	.03	.793	.39	.030*
Personal qualities	.20	.182	.25	.036*	-.23	.150
Constant	.475		-.587		-1.160	
Adjusted R^2	.674		.727		.779	
N	32		63		31	

* Significant at α=.05 level.
** Significant at α=.01 level.
*** Significant at α=.001 level.

The impact of *affect* on voting intention is strong in all the conditions, as indicated by the high Beta scores for *affect*. Therefore, feelings about the candidate do play a significantly "powerful summary of other perceptions and attitudes that influence political behavior such as voting" (Rahn, Aldrich, Borgida, and Sullivan, 1990). However, our result also suggests that in certain conditions, other perceptions may also directly influence the voting intention. For instance, when subjects are exposed only to positive political information, their assessment of candidate professional competence may also play a role in their *vote choice*. On the other hand, subjects had access to both positive and negative political information, also appear to rely on candidate personal qualities in their voting intention. These data provide support to Hypothesis 3.

Discussion

The findings fully supported Hypotheses 1 and 3 and partially supported Hypothesis 2. These results indicate that political advertisements influence candidate appraisal. Such strong results in an exploratory experiment are encouraging. This is compounded by the fact that we received highly significant results without using extremely negative or positive advertisements.

Rahn *et. al.* (1990) used a survey to test their model in an actual campaign environment. We, on the other hand, designed an experimental condition allowing an individual channel to be examined. Our findings compliment the 1990 study and support the model in a more specific environment. Finding significant results in support of any model by testing it with both an experimental and a survey design is unusual in social science research.

Our experiment controls for several confounding variables -- such as partisanship, issue, and source -- included in the 1990 research design. The Rahn *et. al.* study analyzed subjects' answers to a post-election survey. Through exposure to political television advertisements, the current study examined voters' first impressions of candidates during an early stage of a campaign.

There are limitations, however, in this comparison that are identified by four specific differences between Rahn's Model and the present experiment. First, Rahn *et. al.'s* political information environment includes "exogenous variables of partisanship, ideology, and issues" (p. 192). In this experiment, however, only one type of political information is provided, the paid political advertisement. Because we control the information environment, we are able to determine the specific effect that political advertisements have on the candidate appraisal process.

The second difference is the number of candidate choices in the campaign environment. In the 1990 study, assessments were made of two candidates, Ronald Reagan and Walter Mondale. Our experiment, however, only provided voters with one candidate to control for backlash. Instead of creating an environment in which subjects have access to a comparative election involving two candidates, we wanted to control for the backlash effect that a comparative environment could create. According to Garramone, "A strong attack on a candidate, if perceived by the audience as untrustful, undocumented, or in any way unjustified, may create more negative feelings toward the sponsor, rather than toward the target. Similarly, an attack perceived as unjustified may generate more positive feelings toward the target" (1984, p. 251).

The third difference is the number of issues included in the design. Subjects in the present research experiment were only exposed to one domestic issue. According to Rahn *et. al.* (1990), "regardless of whether these judgments are based on knowledge (or at least perceptions) of one or two key issues, or whether they are based on many issues, the information processing is the same" (p. 198). Issue control simplifies our research design while increasing internal validity.

Future Research

This current research project is the first step in a series of experiments focusing on political advertisements and their effect on candidate appraisal. Experiments are important because they enhance internal validity through the identification of causal relationships between variables. Once these relationships are established, researchers may want to move to an actual campaign environment in order to generalize their results and enhance external validity.

Future research along the lines of this current project might create an environment that replicates an actual campaign and increases the number of variables in the model, such as the candidates and issues. This would also expand the research agenda to examine the existence of effect such as backlash which moves the model from a unidirectional model to a effect described earlier in this analysis.

More importantly, this experiment examined only one part of the political communication diagram, the effect of political advertising on voters. (Please revisit Figure 1.) Future research should focus on the other pathways in the political communication diagram examining other message sources and their effect on vote choice. Political advertisements are a critical component of the traditional vote choice model.

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Appendix A: Content of Political Ads

Positive Advertisement

Summary Strinden emphasized his support of a long term healthcare plan. He talked about the need for an elderly care plan and Medicare. The setting of the advertisement is Strinden visiting with elderly people. The focus is a positive portrayal of Strinden's character and personal image. Strinden promises to fight for the rights of elderly people in North Dakota.

30-second Spot

Strinden: After a life time of hard work and raising families, too many older Americans don't know what comes next. The cost of long term health care must be brought under control. I'm Earl Strinden and I've been fighting for North Dakota senior citizens for all the years I've been in the legislature. I'm running for the Unites States Senate so that I can take the fight to Washington. Older North Dakotans deserve the best. They've earned it.

Graphic Tag: *Strinden United States Senate*

Negative Advertisement

Summary A segment from the positive commercial is superimposed on a computer graphic of a television screen. Strinden, a talking head, is promising to support medical care for the elderly. The graphic changes to a newspaper article headlined, "Strinden cuts hit N.D. services." A voice over attacks Strinden's promise by comparing it to his past record. The focus of this ad, although an issue oriented attack, on Strinden's ability to keep his promise.

30-second Spot

Announcer: In this TV ad, Earl Strinden says he's fought for our elderly. But take a closer look. January 1998, Earl Strinden proposes budget cuts that would cut Medicaid funding for nursing homes. Strinden's plan would force one-fourth of our elderly out of nursing homes. That's right! Force them out! So next time you see one of his TV ads,

Graphic Tag: *. . . Cut Medicaid help to our elderly*

Announcer: remember the real Earl Strinden wanted to cut Medicaid that helps our elderly,

Graphic Tag: *And that's just not right.*

Announcer: and that's just not right!

Appendix B: Multiple Comparison of 4 experimental conditions

	Qualification				Trustworthy				Leadership				Knowlegibility				Favorability				Vote				Win			
Conditions	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
1	\	***	***	***	\	.078	.010	***	\	.027	*	***	\	**	**	***	\	*	**	***	\	.154	*	***	\	.299	.085	**
2	***	\	.997	.967	.078	\	.906	***	.270	\	.690	*	**	\	1	***	*	\	.964	***	.154	\	.927	*	.299	\	.934	0.3
3	***	.997	\	.994	.010	.906	\	***	*	.690	\	.363	**	.998	\	***	**	.964	\	**	*	.927	\	.150	.085	.934	\	0.7
4	***	.967	.994	\	***	***	***	\	***	*	.363	\	***	***	***	\	***	***	***	\	***	*	.150	\	**	.334	.334	\
Multiple	Tukey				Tukey				Tukey				Tukey				Tukey				Tukey				Tukey			
Comparison	HSD				HSD				HSD				HSD				HSD				HSD				HSD			

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Appendix C: Final Experiment Questionnaire:

Advertisement Study

Directions: Based on the material presented in the commercials, please circle the number that most accurately represents your answer regarding **Ocean Spray**.

1. Ocean Spray is a quality brand for fruit drinks.

1-----------2-----------3-----------4-----------5-----------6-----------7----------8-----------9

Strongly Disagree

Strongly Agree

2. How trustworthy do you feel the Ocean Spray ad is?

1-----------2-----------3-----------4-----------5-----------6-----------7----------8-----------9

Very Untrustworthy

Very Trustworthy

3. What is the likelihood that you would buy Ocean Spray fruit drink products?

1-----------2-----------3-----------4-----------5-----------6-----------7----------8-----------9

Very Unlikely

Very Likely

4. What is the likelihood that this Ocean Spray fruit drink would be successful in the marketplace?

1-----------2-----------3-----------4-----------5-----------6-----------7----------8-----------9

Very Unlikely

Very Likely

5. How favorable do you feel toward Ocean Spray fruit drink?

1-----------2-----------3-----------4-----------5-----------6-----------7----------8-----------9

Very Unfavorable

Very Favorable

Directions: Based on the material presented in the commercials, please indicate your judgment about the political candidate **Earl Strinden.**

6. How qualified do you feel Earl Strinden is to be Senator?

1------------2------------3------------4------------5------------6------------7-----------8------------9

Very Unqualified	Very Qualified

7. How trustworthy do you feel Earl Strinden appears to be?

1------------2------------3------------4------------5------------6------------7-----------8------------9

Very Untrustworthy	Very Trustworthy

8. How strong of a leader do you feel Earl Strinden would be?

1------------2------------3------------4------------5------------6------------7-----------8------------9

Very Weak	Very Strong

9. How knowledgeable do you feel Earl Strinden is regarding the issues he talked about?

1------------2------------3------------4------------5------------6------------7-----------8------------9

Very Ignorant	Very Knowledgeable

10. How favorable do you feel toward Earl Strinden?

1------------2------------3------------4------------5------------6------------7-----------8------------9

Very Unfavorable	Very Favorable

11. How likely would you be to vote for Earl Strinden?

1------------2------------3------------4------------5------------6------------7-----------8------------9

Very Unlikely	Very Likely

12. What is the likelihood that Earl Strinden would win this election?

1------------2------------3------------4------------5------------6------------7-----------8------------9

Very Unlikely	Very Likely

13. Have you ever heard of Earl Strinden before?

_______ Yes
_______ No

Directions: **Please list what you remember from the following commercials.**

The Isuzu car commercial:

The commercials about the political candidate, Earl Strinden:

The Ocean Spray commercial:

Directions: **Please place an "X" in the boxes that apply.**

a) Age ______

b) Gender:

______ Female
______ Male

c) Political Party Preference:

______ Democrat
______ Republican
______ Independent
______ Other party (*please specify*) __________________

d) State of Residence:

_______ Minnesota
_______ North Dakota

_______ South Dakota
_______ Others (*please specify*) ______

e) Major/Field:

_______ Print/Broadcast Journalism
_______ Public Relations
_______ Advertising

_______ Other major (*please specify*) ______________________

Directions: **Please place an "X" in the boxes that apply.**

a) Age ______

b) Gender:

______ Female
______ Male

c) Political Party Preference:

______ Democrat
______ Republican
______ Independent
______ Other party (*please specify*) __________________

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_______ Minnesota
_______ North Dakota

_______ South Dakota
_______ Others (*please specify*) ______

e) Major/Field:

_______ Print/Broadcast Journalism
_______ Public Relations
_______ Advertising

_______ Other major (*please specify*) ______________________

Thank you for taking the time to help us with this research project.

Differential Effects of Self-assessed Consumer Knowledge and Objective Consumer Knowledge on Responses to Print Ads for Technical Products

by

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Abstract

The roles of two constructs of consumer knowledge, self-assessed product knowledge and objective product knowledge, are examined in an experiment in which consumers read ads for high-tech products containing varying levels of technical language. Self-assessed knowledge was a better predictor of participants' cognitive responses and general attitudinal evaluations. Objective knowledge, on the other hand, was a better predictor of ratings of specific product attributes. These differential results are considered with respect to the role of product advertising in consumer information search strategies.

This study addresses the question of how people with varying degrees of knowledge in a particular domain use textual cues to construct meaning from advertisements that communicate technical information.

Differences in how people process persuasive messages have a direct bearing on strategies for copywriting. For example, the comprehension-enhancing goals of simple advertising copy can conflict with another frequent admonition to avoid "talking down" to potential customers. In fact, some evidence suggests copy complexity and ad readership are positively related (e.g., Chamblee, Gilmore, Thomas & Soldow, 1993).

Where advertising for technical products is concerned, relationships between comprehension and advertising effectiveness may be even more dependent on individual-level variables, because of wide degrees of variability in consumer knowledge about technical products. In other words, a message that is clear and comprehensible to a person with low product knowledge may be perceived as being insultingly simplistic and uninformative to a person with high product knowledge. Along the same lines, a person with high product knowledge may be able to evaluate and comprehend a highly technical advertisement, but a person with low product knowledge may find much of the language in the same ad incomprehensible.

Another reason why technical product advertising should be informative as a way of isolating consumer knowledge and language interactions in persuasion is that technical jargon is often included in advertising for such products. As new words are assimilated from technical fields into the language in general, or as existing words take on new meanings and connotations as they are transformed in technical areas and then brought back into standard English, it is only natural that people do not acquire the new jargon at the same rate. Indeed, within a highly specialized field such as computer science, technological advances prevent a specialized lexicon from remaining constant for long (Barry, 1991).

For example, advertising for computer products that is placed in media where potential buyers include both computer novices and experienced computer users amounts to using the same message to persuade people at different points on a technical product learning curve. Acronyms such as "ASCI," "CAD," "CD-ROM," "DPI," "DOS," "LAN," "MIPS," "RAM," and "SCSI" are rarely defined in text but were easily located in a relatively small sample of computer hardware and software advertisements recently examined by the author. Words like "megabytes," "bezels," "configuration," "compatibility," "digitize," "peripherals," "mouse," "pixels," and "platform" were prevalent as well. The words listed in the previous sentence are examples of new words, words that have been formed by combining elements of existing words (portmanteau words), or words which existed previously but have taken on new meanings within the specialized vocabulary of a specific product category.[1] As a current advertisement for Compaq computers suggests, technical language can be a prominent component in advertising copy:

> Take the Compaq LTE® 5300, for example. It starts with a powerful 133 MHz Pentium® Processor. And has the MultiBay™ design that lets you add optional interchangeable devices -- like a second hard drive (up to 2.16 GB) or a 6X CD-ROM drive -- so you can mix and match capabilities anywhere. If you'd like even more flexibility, there's the Armada® 4120. It transforms from a super-portable slimline notebook (with a 120 MHz Pentium Processor, of course) to a multimedia notebook with an optional, and detachable, CD-ROM base. And, like the LTE 5300, it can work even harder when you team it up with its optional Convenience Base.

What might happen, then, when consumers who may know very little about a product category encounter language like this in advertising? Would they ignore it or attempt to figure out the terms they do not understand? Or might they rely on heuristics and ascribe some value to the information they do not comprehend (e.g., "This must be a really sophisticated product because I don't understand a word they're saying")? As one practitioner noted, "a high-tech ad that focuses primarily on a product that most readers barely understand may only confuse them" (Beckwith, 1986, p. 152).

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[1] Even the concept, "information age," has metaphors associated with it that are linked to associations that come from existing language. Terms like "information superhighway," or in Wired magazine's parlance, "Infobahn," are used to suggest how computer technology helps eliminate traditional boundaries between information, space and time.

Confusing or not, though, would potential buyers who are unfamiliar with the technical jargon used in certain product classes even read such ads? Well-tested models of information seeking (e.g., Howard, 1977) predict that they would in some cases. Information seeking models are often used to predict the amount and the sources of information people use when making purchase decisions about different kinds of products. In Howard's (1977) model, information seeking is considered hierarchically as a problem solving approach with the complexity of the problem predicting the extensiveness of the consumer's information-seeking behavior. The highest level of information seeking behavior is known as extended problem solving. Consumers in these situations tend to have high needs for information but little internal knowledge on which to base their decisions. As a result, they tend to take longer to make their decisions and engage in extensive information searches from a wide variety of sources. Information seeking for consumers considering a purchase of an expensive technical product would be more likely to involve this extended problem solving mode, but with considerable variation in consumers' levels of internal knowledge. One application this study could have to advertising practitioners would be to determine whether an optimal level of technical language exists for effective persuasion along this learning curve.

The abilities of experts (defined in this study as individuals with high levels of consumer knowledge) to understand complicated information (within their domains of expertise) better than novices has been well documented in psychological, linguistic, advertising and consumer research (e.g., Bedard & Chi, 1992; Hunt, Lunneborg, & Lewis, 1975; Alba & Hutchinson, 1987). The bulk of the scholarship in these research areas, however, focuses on the organization of information stored in experts' memories and the processes used by experts that allow them to use their extensive knowledge bases as an aid to comprehension.

This study, in contrast, is equally concerned with the attempts made by non-experts to understand advertising messages that may influence their purchasing decisions. In essence, this study is guided by the question, "When a communication message contains language that is incomprehensible to some readers, what strategies do they use to comprehend such messages and how effective are their attempts?" It is hoped that answers to this question may be helpful in better understanding the cognitive processes involved in learning technical information and in eventually developing a theory-based approach for writing advertising copy directed toward different types of consumers.

The consumer knowledge construct:

MacInnis and Jaworski (1989) provided an information-processing framework that takes into account a number of consumer-level variables related to processing ads, antecedent conditions that affect processing, and the attitudinal consequences of processing. Antecedents to processing include the consumers' needs as they relate to certain products and their motivation, ability and opportunity to process brand information. At the processing level itself, individual levels of attention and how much processing capacity is devoted to the information processing task due to individual differences in knowledge and the impact of antecedent conditions are considered. The consequences that are mediated by the levels of processing and their antecedents include cognitive responses, affective responses, and brand attitudes. Thus, for a consumer in the market for a high-tech product, motivation to process advertising information could be a function of how important the purchase is to the consumer while ability to process would be a function of how much the consumer already knows about the particular product category and its associated brands.

The most commonly accepted view of consumer knowledge maintains that consumer knowledge contains two primary dimensions: familiarity (defined as "the number of product-related experiences that have been accumulated by the consumer") and expertise (defined as "the ability to perform product-related tasks successfully") (Alba & Hutchinson, 1987, p. 411; see also Jacoby, Troutman, Kuss, & Mazursky, 1986). The development of this concept is related to psychological research on differences between experts and novices. This research has shown that not only do experts have more knowledge about a topic than do novices, but experts' knowledge is more richly integrated. They can keep more "operators" in mind and are able to relate new information with what they already know. This enables experts to better understand complex information within their domains of expertise (Bedard & Chi, 1992).

Typically, experts are considered to have better developed schemas related to their particular domains of knowledge. Alba and Hutchinson (1987) define schema as "a multifaceted retrieval cue" (p. 434). As new information is processed, it is integrated into an existing schema from which it can later be retrieved.

When schema theory is applied to experts and non-experts, then, some evidence points to differences not only in the amount of knowledge stored (within a specific domain of knowledge), but also to differences in processing strategies that might result from the differences in schemas. One strategy which is applicable to experts is the concept of chunking (Bower & Springston 1970). Chunking is related to the idea that short-term memory (or activated memory) is a limited capacity system, and that experts' abilities to combine meaningful pieces of related information into fewer "chunks" aid in the rehearsal and retrieval of information. Chunking involves grouping related items into a single item to be encoded, such as when a seven digit telephone number is processed not as seven items, but as two items consisting of a three digit chunk and a four digit chunk. For example, experiments in pattern recognition among expert and novice chess players have shown that experts may in fact possess not only the ability to chunk pieces of information together, but that they also seem to chunk together the most meaningful pieces of information and relate them to each other (Chase & Simon 1973). Kintsch and Vipond (1979) have applied this concept to discourse analysis and processing capacity:

> It appears likely that this initial process of extracting the meaning from a text would be greatly facilitated by relevant knowledge. If so, less processing capacity would have to be devoted to this component of the comprehension process, leaving more available for other operations (p. 355).

Although the concept of expertise is a subject of long-standing debate in information processing research, hinging on the extent to which experts are differentiated from novices as a function of their better developed knowledge structures versus their use of different processing strategies (i.e., conceptually driven processing versus data driven processing), the theoretical explanations for expertise are less important here than are the implications of expertise (i.e., that experts can be differentiated from novices).

Because consumer knowledge is conceived as a function of both expertise and familiarity, however, the relative importance of these two dimensions may vary depending on the type of product being considered. For example, with a low involvement product such as facial tissues, product familiarity would likely be the primary predictor of consumer knowledge. For a highly technical product, however, such as a home computer, consumer knowledge would be a function of both expertise and familiarity.

When encountering persuasive communications, people with high levels of knowledge in a topic area tend to elaborate more on the information presented to them, generate more counterarguments and base their evaluations on the quality of the arguments presented. People with low levels of knowledge in a topic area tend to rely on peripheral cues such as the number of arguments presented regardless of merit or make a snap judgment based on some heuristic that is not specific to the message (Petty & Caccioppo, 1986; Chaiken, 1980).

The effects of consumer knowledge on comprehension are well-documented, enabling the consumer to better recognize and evaluate salient ad cues (MacInnis & Jaworski, 1989; Sujan, 1985), to acquire new information more easily (Bucks, 1985), to engage in deeper levels of processing (Olson, 1980), and to simplify technical or complex information (Alba & Hutchinson, 1987). With few exceptions, (e.g., Ratneshwar & Chaiken, 1991), however, the research analyzing the relationship between consumer knowledge and comprehension has focused on how increased knowledge aids the consumer rather than differential processing between high-knowledge and low-knowledge consumers. This has led to criticisms as to whether dual-route models of persuasion actually describe different paths to attitude change and formation or whether they only test the presence or absence of elaborative processing (e.g., Stiff, 1986).

This emphasis on the high-knowledge end of the continuum may also be based in part on how consumer knowledge is traditionally measured. Consumer knowledge is typically considered as an objective measure in which consumers' levels of stored product class information are used to predict dependent measures such as information seeking and recall of advertising or brand information. A second consumer knowledge construct--self-assessed knowledge--is also considered important, however, in determining attitudinal and evaluative responses about product information (Brucks, 1985). Self-assessed consumer knowledge is a subjective estimate measuring how much people think they know (veridical or not) about a product category. Some evidence suggests that self-assessed knowledge is a better predictor (compared to objective knowledge) of responses to information that relate to product-related experience (Park, Mothersbaugh, & Feick, 1994).

The inclusion of self-assessed knowledge as a predictor variable acknowledges that what people actually know about a topic and what they think they know are not always the same. For example, a consumer with high self-assessed knowledge may think that a certain make of automobile is less reliable than other makes based on a personal experience in the past and even though the cause of the particular malfunction may be long since corrected in later models, knowledge due to this experience could still affect the consumer's evaluations of the product and purchase behavior. Low self-assessed knowledge, on the other hand, has been found to be associated with higher levels of receptivity to new information (Park, Gardner, & Thukral, 1988).

Park, Mothersbaugh and Feick (1994) examined the relationships between objective knowledge, self-assessed knowledge, product-related experience, and stored product class information. They found that self-assessed knowledge was highly correlated with product-related experience; objective knowledge, on the other hand, was highly correlated with stored product-class information (as measured from a free recall listing of brands and product attributes).

Based on findings from these areas of research, some hypotheses for consumer knowledge can be offered. Much of the earlier work in consumer knowledge dealt with the types of information and the degree of elaborative message processing (in particular, the generation of arguments and counterarguments as opposed to a reliance on peripheral cues) that would occur for people with high levels of knowledge in a certain area (e.g., Chaiken, 1980; Olson, 1980; Petty & Cacioppo, 1986). In general, people with high levels of knowledge in a particular domain tend to engage in more elaborative message processing than people with less knowledge. In particular, however, since product-related experience (which is associated with self-assessed knowledge) has been shown to be more accessible in memory than stored product-class information (Park, Mothersbaugh & Feick, 1994), it seems likely that:

H1: High self-assessed knowledge participants will exhibit more evidence of elaborative message processing during thought listing tasks than low self-assessed knowledge participants.

In addition, high levels of objective consumer knowledge better enable the consumer to process more complex information and integrate new complex information into their existing knowledge structures, or schema (e.g., Alba & Hutchinson, 1987; Bedard & Chi, 1992; Kintsch, 1988). This should mean that participants with high objective consumer knowledge would not only be better able to comprehend technical language, but they should also be better able to relate this information to what they already know about products. As a result, technical ads would likely be more meaningful to them than nontechnical ads when it comes to evaluating specific product attributes. Thus, it can predicted that:

H2: Objective consumer knowledge and technical language will interact, so that high objective knowledge participants will have more favorable ratings of specific product attributes when reading high-technical ads; conversely, low objective knowledge participants will have more favorable product perceptions when reading nontechnical ads.

Finally, since self-assessed knowledge has been shown to be important in determining attitudinal responses to product information (Brucks, 1985):

H3: Self-assessed consumer knowledge and technical language will interact, so that high self-assessed knowledge participants will exhibit more favorable attitudinal responses when reading high-technical ads; conversely, low self-assessed knowledge participants will have more favorable attitudes when reading nontechnical ads as being more effective.

Method

To test the hypotheses, a repeated measures experiment incorporating a mixed design was used. Self-assessed knowledge and objective knowledge were between-subjects fixed factors (run in separate analyses) with two levels, as was gender, which is important to consider as a possible interactive variable due to the technical nature of the products used in the stimulus materials. Technical language was a within-subjects factor and also had two levels (technical/nontechnical). To add generalizability to technical products as a whole, four different product types were used in the stimulus ads. Since the technical language manipulation was contained within the ads and involved a within-subjects design, all the measures involving the ads themselves were pooled across the four product types.

Procedure:

A sample of 80 adult consumers was obtained with the cooperation of a parents education organization in a mid-sized midwestern city. Participants were not paid individually; rather, a lump sum contribution was made directly to the parenting organization as an acknowledgment of their participation and assistance.

Data for the pretest questionnaires were gathered during late July and early August, 1997. Following completion of the pretest, an appointment was set to conduct the experiment approximately a month later. Questionnaires were administered in participants' homes. Participants were instructed that they would be reading some ads for different products and then answering questions about them. To encourage participants to read the ads carefully, they were asked to pretend as if they were thinking about purchasing the kinds of products that would be featured in the ads. The four products (using fictitious brand names) were a camcorder, a compact disc player, an ink jet printer, and a VCR. Participants were randomly assigned to sixteen counterbalanced orders. The questionnaire consisted of four repeated measures of ads (two technical and two nontechnical) and questions, in which participants would read an ad and then complete the cognitive responses and attitude measures before proceeding to the next ad. The average completion time for the experiment was one hour. Participants were then debriefed, and thanked.

Control Variables/Demographics:

Effects of the following demographic variables are statistically controlled for in this study: age; household income; employment status; race; and education.

Technical language:

Technical words are operationalized as words or acronyms confined chiefly to a specialized field of endeavor, such as a science, industry, or form of commerce.

In this study, the amount of technical language dealt with specific product features and was manipulated at two levels, with technical ads having ten features described using technical terms, and nontechnical ads having the same ten features described using everyday language. To accomplish this, product manuals and World Wide Web home pages were reviewed for several brands in each of the four product categories. From these reviews, lists of technical terms were developed for each product category. Next, two measures of frequency of occurrence were obtained for all the technical terms based on Nexis database searches. The first measure counted occurrences of each term in general. The second measure was a product-specific frequency of occurrence, whereby it counted occurrences of each term when it appeared within ten words of each product category name. For each product, ten technical terms were chosen and ten accurate, but nontechnical replacements were also written. For example, one of the technical terms for the VCR ad was a "double azimuth 4-head video system." The nontechnical replacement for this term was a "video system that has multiple heads."

Consumer knowledge:

Data for both types of consumer knowledge were gathered during a pretest. Self-assessed knowledge was measured as a three-item, seven-point semantic differential scale (anchored by "a lot" and "very little") asking participants how much they know about the product in general, how much they know about the product compared to friends and acquaintances, and how much they know about the product compared to experts. Objective knowledge was constructed as an index based on each participant's total score on a set of knowledge questions for each product type.

Dependent Variables

Elaborative processing:

Elaborative processing was measured using the cognitive response method (Petty, Ostrom & Brock, 1981). Specifically, participants wrote their responses to the ads after viewing each advertisement. They then coded these responses according to valence (positive/negative/neutral). Subsequently, the author coded the total number of cognitive responses, the number of arguments generated, and the number of counterarguments generated. Argument statements were defined as explicit support statements which evaluated a product feature (i.e., not just naming a product feature and coding it in the "positive" column), or which related that feature to how the person would use the product. Similarly, counterarguments were defined as explicit negative evaluations or refutations of product claims that were made in the ads.

Product attributes:

Perceived product durability: For high-priced technical products, perceptions of the durability of a product can be an important factor in the purchase-decision process. Additionally, the perceived durability of a product may be specifically related to the products' technical aspects (Anderson & Jolson, 1980), and may thus provide a more precise measure of how an ad's technical content relates to product evaluations. Because no perceived product durability scales were located in previously published research (the Anderson & Jolson study used a single-item measure), a three-item Likert-type scale was developed for this study ("this product would probably last a long time;" "there are many features that could malfunction with this product;" "this product seems to be well crafted").

Perceived product difficulty of use: Another specific product quality factor for high tech products is the perceived difficulty of operation. This variable was measured using a similar three-item Likert-type scale also developed for this study ("there are a lot of things to keep in mind when using this product;" "it would take a long time to learn how to operate this product;" "I would need someone to show me how to use this product").

Perceived product price: Perceptions of how much a product costs are traditionally considered to be a function of demographics, product-related experience and media consumption (e.g., Wells & Tigert, 1971). In this study, participants were asked to estimate the average retail price for each product they saw advertised.

Attitudes:

Attitude toward the product (A_{pr}): Depending on the kinds of product categories being considered, numerous variations on the A_{pr} scale can be found in the advertising and marketing literature. A_{pr} measures were taken for each of the four product category used in the experiment and consisted of a four-item semantic differential scale (good/bad; like very much/dislike very much; favorable/unfavorable; worthless/valuable) previously used by Gill, Grossbart and Laczniak (1988).

Attitude toward the ad (A_{ad}): A_{ad} is measured to provide a rating of the effectiveness of the ad itself. The A_{ad} scale used in this study is a five-item semantic differential (good/bad; like/dislike; informative/uninformative; interesting/not interesting; clear/not clear).

Preparation of stimulus items:

With a within-subjects design such as this one, the preparation of stimulus items required considerable care. It was important to make each ad look different enough from the others so that they did not appear to be too similar. This might have caused the participants to pay undue attention to the designs and look for slight differences among the ads. On the other hand, it was important the designs of the ads not be so obtrusive that they might interfere with participants' ability to devote their attention to the copy blocks of the ads. It was decided to use similar design approaches but with some variations in layout. The similarities in the designs were that a single, dominant illustration of the product was included in each ad. Because the available illustrations were not all the same size, the amount of space each illustration took up was made roughly equal by integrating background screens and borders with the smaller illustrations. Other similarities included the layout and typography of the copy blocks themselves, which were set in two columns of ten point Helvetica with liberal leading between lines (sans serif styles in small point sizes with liberal leading are currently a popular format for magazine copy blocks). In each case, the brand names were included at the bottom of the ads (either in the center or at the right) and were graphically integrated with the rest of the design. To make the illustrations appear more real, the fictitious brand name for the product was overlaid onto each illustration. This also served the purpose of covering up the real brand name for the product in the illustration. The length of copy blocks was controlled as well.

Results

Sample demographics:

Of the 80 participants, 44 (55%) were female and 36 (45%) were male. The average age of participants was 39 years (s.d. = 10 years, range = 18-68 years). Nearly all of the participants (n = 78) listed their race as "white." One listed "Hispanic" and one declined to answer this question. For income, four participants listed their household income for the past year as being "less than $10,000;" two listed their income as being from "$10,000 to less than $20,000;" five indicated from "$20,000 to less than $30,000;" 27 indicated from "$30,000 to less than $50,000;" 39 indicated from "$50,000 to less than $100,000;" and two listed their income as being "more than $100,000." One participant declined to answer this question. In response to the question, "Do you currently work outside the home?," 72 (90%) answered "yes," and eight (10%) answered "no." In response to the question, "What is the highest level of education you have completed?," one participant listed "some high school." Five had high school diplomas, 15 had completed "some college," 26 had a "four-year college degree," 10 had "some graduate work," and 23 had a "graduate or professional degree." Due to a lack of variability in the race and employment categories, these variables were dropped from further consideration, leaving gender, age, income and education as the demographic control variables.

Descriptive statistics:

All but one (98.8%) reported that they had a VCR, 68 (85.0%) had a CD player, 45 (56.3%) had a camcorder, and 35 (43.8%) had an ink jet printer.

For the self-assessed knowledge scales (*SAK*) (Park, Mothersbaugh & Feick, 1994) in each of the four product categories, three semantic differential questions (anchored by "very little" and "a lot") were asked; the questions asked how much participants felt they knew about the product in general, compared to friends and acquaintances, and compared to experts. A factor analysis was run on these items for each product category, with only one factor being extracted in each case. A high level of internal consistency was evident for the *SAK* scales, with Cronbach's alphas of .86 for CD players, .87 for ink jet printers, .86 for camcorders, and .87 for VCRs. Overall, participants were conservative in their own assessments of their knowledge about these products. The highest level of *SAK* was for VCRs (3.3 on a seven-point scale) and the lowest *SAK* was for ink jet printers (2.4 on a seven-point scale). Participants tended to rate their own product knowledge as being similar to that of friends and acquaintances, rating their knowledge as slightly higher than friends and acquaintances for CD players and ink jet printers, slightly lower for camcorders, and the same for VCRs. For all products, participants rated their own knowledge as being substantially lower than that of experts.

The objective knowledge measures were based on answers to five knowledge questions about each product. Because these individual questions were, essentially, categorical variables (i.e., correct, incorrect, or don't know), a different procedure was used to construct the objective knowledge indexes. Most of the questions were multiple choice questions with four choices. To adjust for correct answers that were the result of participants' guesses, a coding procedure similar to that used for standardized academic achievement tests was used (e.g., Graduate Record Exam, Scholastic Aptitude Test). Under this type of approach, answers are coded in proportion to the number of categories the question offered. For example, in a multiple choice question with four categories, a respondent would have a 25% chance of picking (or guessing) the correct answer. Thus, to adjust for correct answers that may have resulted from guessing, a correct answer in this case added four points to the overall score while an incorrect answer subtracted one point from the overall score. A "zero" was entered for respondents who failed to respond.

The mean objective knowledge scores were 5.4 for CD players, 4.0 for ink jet printers, 5.4 for camcorders, and 9.4 for VCRs.

Total cognitive responses ranged from a low of 3.9 in the CD player ads to a high of 4.7 for the camcorder ads. In general, cognitive responses were more likely to be positive than neutral or negative and were more likely to mention technical target terms than nontechnical target terms.

For the scale items in the experiment questionnaire, tests for reliability again included factor analyses to examine structure and Cronbach's alpha measures to examine internal consistency. Factor analyses for all of the scales in the experiment questionnaire resulted in one factor solutions. As such, only the measures of internal consistency will be discussed individually.

The Perceived Product Durability scale consisted of three Likert scale items ("this product would probably last a long time," "there are many features which could malfunction with this product," and "this product seems to be well-crafted") for each of the four product categories. This scale was developed for this study. Reliabilities for these scales were not as strong. The Cronbach's alpha for the Ink Jet Printer was fairly high at .74. Marginal levels were found for the Camcorder (alpha = .62) and the VCR (alpha = .59). The reliability for the CD Player was weak (alpha = .52).

The Perceived Product Difficulty of Use scale was also developed for this study. This scale also consisted of three Likert scale items ("there are a lot of things to keep in mind when using this product," "it would take a long time to learn how to operate this product," "I would need someone to show me how to use this product"). The reliabilities for these scales were slightly higher. For Perceived Difficulty of Use for the Camcorder was .73. The same scale for the CD Player showed an alpha of .68. The alpha for the Ink Jet Printer scale was marginal at .59. Last, the alpha for the VCR scale was .69.

Although the internal consistency ratings for both the Perceived Product Durability and the Perceived Product Difficulty of Use scales were not extremely high, five of the eight scales exhibited alphas greater than .60 (a level often regarded as a minimum level of reliability for established scales). In addition, two of the three scales with alphas less than .60 were close to this level (.59). Each of these scales consisted of only three items. It is possible that with additional items, a higher level of reliability would be found. Overall, though, these scales appeared to operate with an acceptable level of consistency. If this experiment had employed a between-subjects design, it may have been advisable to discard the CD Player durability scale and to interpret cautiously any results using the VCR durability scale or the Ink Jet printer difficulty of use scale. In a within-subjects design such as this one, however, treatment effects are derived from variations from each participant's mean for a set of responses across all treatment conditions (i.e., the whole set of product durability or difficulty of use responses). In a case like this, removing one or more of the product-specific scales would affect each participant's mean and would result in an unequal distribution of treatment conditions for all participants. Thus, all eight scales were retained.

Perceived product price was a one-item measure in which participants were asked to estimate the suggested retail price for each of the products. The average estimated prices were $688 for the Camcorder, $309 for the CD Player, $401 for the Ink Jet Printer, and $365 for the VCR.

The Attitude Toward the Product Scales (A_{pr}) consisted of five semantic differential items (bad-good, not likable-likable, favorable-unfavorable, valuable-worthless, unimportant-important) for each of the four product categories. These scales showed high levels of internal consistency, with Cronbach's alphas of .92 for Camcorders, .90 for CD players, .92 for Ink Jet Printers, and .88 for VCRs. In general, participants had favorable attitudes toward these products as well For comparison purposes, the pretest measures for the same scales are shown in parentheses. On a seven-point scale, the mean attitude toward Camcorders was 5.6 (5.8). For CD players, it was 5.5 (5.6), for Ink Jet Printers, it was 5.5 (5.4), and for VCRs, it was 5.8 (6.0).

For the Attitude Toward the Ad (A_{ad}) scale, each of the four product ads exhibited high levels of reliability. The Cronbach's alphas were .88 for the Camcorder ad, .87 for the CD Player ad, .90 for the Ink Jet Printer ad, and .92 for the VCR ad. The ad for the Ink Jet Printer received the highest ratings, with a mean of 4.9 (on a seven-point scale). The means for the other ads were 4.7 for the Camcorder ad, 4.3 for the CD Player ad, and 4.2 for the VCR ad.

For the two measures of consumer knowledge for each product type, correlations were run to assess the degree to which objective knowledge and self-assessed knowledge were related for each product type and in general. Previous research (e.g., Brucks, 1985; Park, Mothersbaugh Feick, 1994) had indicated that although these two measures are sometimes highly correlated, they are different constructs in that self-assessed knowledge appears to be primarily a function of product-related experience, whereas objective knowledge is a function of stored product information.

In this data set, the correlations between self-assessed knowledge and objective knowledge ranged from moderate to moderately high, with a correlation of .52 for camcorders, .53 for CD players, .28 for ink jet printers, and .50 for VCRs. Collapsing across product categories, the overall correlation between self-assessed knowledge and objective knowledge was .59, indicating a substantial level of consistency for how these two measures operated within participants regardless of product category. As such, two general measures of consumer knowledge were created (one for general self-assessed knowledge and one for general objective knowledge) and separate analyses were run on both measures. As discussed earlier, both consumer knowledge and gender were treated as fixed factors, based on a high/low median split.

Tests of Hypotheses:

Analyses for the hypothesis tests were run using repeated measures analysis of covariance, with age, education and income as the covariates, gender and consumer knowledge as fixed factors, and technical language as a within subjects factor.

The first hypothesis predicted that high self-assessed knowledge participants would exhibit more evidence of elaborative message processing in thought listing tasks than low self-assessed knowledge participants. Three measures were used as indicators of elaborative message processing: total number of cognitive responses; number of support arguments generated; and number of counterarguments generated. For comparison purposes, a separate set of analyses was run using objective knowledge as a predictor variable.

For the total number of cognitive responses, main effect tests for self-assessed knowledge ($F_{(1,73)} = 0.2$, $p = .65$) and gender ($F_{(1,73)} = 0.2$, $p = .67$) were not significant. The interaction between gender and self-assessed knowledge, however, did significantly affect the total number of cognitive responses that participants generated ($F_{(1,73)} = 4.6$, $p = .04$). The results indicated that men with low levels of self-assessed knowledge generated the fewest number of responses (mean = 3.8, s.d. = 2.0), and men with high levels of self-assessed knowledge generated the greatest number of responses (mean = 4.5, s.d. = 1.3). For women, the pattern was just the opposite, although the differences were not as pronounced (mean for low self-assessed knowledge = 4.4, s.d. =

1.5; mean for high self-assessed knowledge = 4.0, s.d. = 1.0). Education was also positively associated with the total number of cognitive responses generated (t = 3.5, p = .001). Age and income were not significant.

For the number of support arguments generated, a similar pattern of results emerged. The main effect test for self-assessed knowledge was not significant ($F_{(1, 73)}$ = 0.1, p = .76); the main effect test for gender, although close, was also not significant ($F_{(1, 73)}$ = 3.4, p = .07). The interactive effect of self-assessed knowledge and gender, however, was significant ($F_{(1, 73)}$ = 4.0, p = .05). As with the previous interaction for total cognitive responses, the support argument responses for women were relatively stable (mean for low self-assessed knowledge = 1.0, s.d. = .62; mean for high self-assessed knowledge = 0.7, s.d. = .55). Men with low self-assessed knowledge provided the fewest number of support arguments (mean = 0.5, s.d. = .40); men with high self-assessed knowledge generated more support arguments (mean = 0.7, s.d. = .80). Age, income, and education were not significantly related to the number of support arguments generated.

For the number of counterarguments generated, the main effect tests for self-assessed knowledge ($F_{(1, 73)}$ = 0.2, p = .66) and for gender ($F_{(1, 73)}$ = 0.1, p = .75) were not significant. As with the previous tests, though, a significant interaction between self-assessed knowledge and gender occurred ($F_{(1, 73)}$ = 4.7, p = .03). In this case, women with low levels of self-assessed knowledge generated the greatest number of counterarguments (mean = 1.0, s.d. = 1.0), whereas women with high levels of self-assessed knowledge generated the least number of counterarguments (mean = 0.6, s.d. = 0.6). Age, income, and education were not significantly related to the number of counterarguments generated.

None of the ANCOVA tests for the objective knowledge measure for consumer knowledge were significant.

The first hypothesis, then, was supported when interactions between self-assessed knowledge and gender were considered but not when self-assessed knowledge was analyzed separately.

The second hypothesis concerned the combined effects of objective consumer knowledge and technical language, predicting that these two variables would interact to produce more favorable ratings of specific product attributes for high objective knowledge participants when they read ads with technical language and more favorable ratings by low objective knowledge participants when they read nontechnical ads. The dependent variables were perceived product durability, perceived difficulty of use, and perceived price.

For perceived product durability, the two-way interactions between technical language and objective knowledge ($F_{(1, 76)} = 1.5$, $p = .22$) was not significant. However, a three-way interaction among technical language, objective knowledge and gender, was significant ($F_{(1, 76)} = 4.3$, $p = .04$). In this interaction, women with a high level of objective knowledge again gave the highest overall ratings for product durability when they read technical ads (mean = 3.5, s.d. = .52). Men with a low level of objective knowledge, on the other hand, gave the lowest overall ratings for product durability when they read nontechnical ads (mean = 3.0, s.d. = .43). Age, income and education were not related to perceived product durability, nor were any of the tests involving self-assessed knowledge and product durability.

For perceived difficulty of use, objective knowledge showed a significant interaction with technical language ($F_{(1, 76)} = 3.9$, $p = .05$). As predicted, participants with a low level of objective knowledge about the products rated products in technical ads as being the most difficult to use (mean = 3.3, s.d. = .52). Likewise, the lowest ratings for difficulty of use occurred when participants with a high level of objective knowledge read nontechnical ads (mean = 2.9, s.d. = .52). There was not a significant three-way interaction when gender was included. Self-assessed knowledge did not significantly interact with technical language to produce different ratings of product durability. None of the demographic control variables were significantly related to perceived difficulty of use.

For perceived product price, the interactions between technical language and objective knowledge ($F_{(1, 76)} = 0.2$, $p = .68$) and between technical language and self-assessed knowledge ($F_{(1, 76)} = 1.8$, $p = .18$) were not significant, nor were either of the three-way interactions including gender. Age, income, and education were also not significant.

Overall, then, the second hypothesis was supported for the durability and difficulty of use ratings, but not for estimates of product prices. Objective consumer knowledge and technical language produced significant interactions in the predicted direction for perceived difficulty of use and, with women participants, for perceived product durability.

The last hypothesis also dealt with interactions between consumer knowledge and technical language, but in this case the dependent measures were general attitudinal responses toward the products advertised and the ads themselves. This hypothesis predicted that self-assessed consumer knowledge and technical language would interact to produce more favorable evaluations of the products and ads for high self-assessed knowledge participants when they read ads with technical language and more favorable evaluations of the ads for low self-assessed knowledge participants when they read nontechnical ads.

For A_{pr}, the consumer knowledge by technical language was not significant for either selfl-assessed knowledge ($F_{(1, 76)} = 0.1$, $p = .81$) or objective knowledge ($F_{(1, 76)} = 0.1$, $p = .85$). A three-way interaction between technical language, self-assessed knowledge and gender was significant, however ($F_{(1, 76)} = 4.1$, $p = .05$). In this interaction, men with a low level of self-assessed knowledge showed the lowest overall A_{pr} when reading nontechnical ads (mean = 5.0, s.d. = .61). Women with a high level of self-assessed knowledge, on the other hand, acted according to the prediction and exhibited the highest overall A_{pr} when they read ads with technical language (mean = 6.2, s.d. = .78). Age, education and income were not significantly related to A_{pr},.

For (A_{ad}), the hypothesized interaction between technical language and self-assessed knowledge was not significant, nor were either of the three-way interaction tests involving gender. The interaction between technical language and objective consumer knowledge, however, was significant ($F_{(1, 76)} = 5.5$, p = .02). In this interaction, participants with a high level of objective knowledge had a more favorable A_{ad} when reading technical ads (mean = 4.6, s.d. = 1.0) than when reading nontechnical ads (mean = 4.2, s.d. = 1.1). Similarly, participants with a low level of objective knowledge had more a more favorable A_{ad} when reading nontechnical ads (mean = 4.8, s.d. = .94) than when reading technical ads (mean = 4.6, s.d. = 1.1). None of the demographic control variables were significant.

The third hypothesis, then, was supported for the attitude toward the product measure, but not for the attitude toward the ad measure.

Overall, though, moderate support was shown for the three hypotheses dealing with different measures of consumer knowledge, especially when the sex of participants was considered. Male participants high in self-assessed knowledge engaged in more elaborative message processing, as measured by the total number of cognitive responses generated and the number of support arguments generated. For the other measure of elaborative message processing--the number of counterarguments generated--an opposite pattern emerged, where women with low self-assessed knowledge generated the greatest number of counterarguments. For the product attribute ratings, when perceived durability and perceived difficulty of use (two product evaluations more specifically linked to product features) were tested, objective knowledge proved to be the significantly predictive consumer knowledge variable. For the general attitude measures, when the technical language factor was considered in addition to self-assessed knowledge and gender, women with high self-assessed knowledge exhibited the most favorable attitudes toward the products evaluations after reading technical ads. Contrary to the third hypothesis, however, objective knowledge (rather than self-assessed knowledge) interacted with technical language in affecting participants' attitudes toward the ad. Here, participants with high objective knowledge showed more favorable A_{ad} when reading technical ads while participants with low objective knowledge gave higher ratings to nontechnical ads.

Discussion

The two different consumer knowledge measures used in this study did appear to behave differently depending on whether the pretest objective knowledge or the self-assessed knowledge measure was used. The one result that occurred contrary to the predicted relationships involved objective knowledge and attitude toward the ads. This is interesting in that objective knowledge is considered to be primarily a function of stored product class information. For the A_{ad}, measures, the specificity of participants' objective knowledge may have aided their evaluations. In the case of A_{ad},, the ads themselves mentioned several specific product features that participants could have compared with their own knowledge as they read the ads. They could similarly make use of their own knowledge bases when using the information in the ads to make judgments about how difficult products would be to use and how long they would last.

Self-assessed knowledge, on the other hand, interacted with technical language and gender to produce different ratings for A_{pr}, a more general measure. Self-assessed knowledge also interacted with gender to affect the amount of elaborative message processing that participants engaged in. Viewed this way, how much people thought they knew about the products was an important determinant for a general product evaluation and for the kinds of thought processes they engaged in while reading.

It is important to consider the differential effects of these two different components of consumer knowledge with respect to the information search behaviors that consumers engage in when considering purchases of high tech products and the kinds of advertising executions that might be most effective. Consumers with high levels of objective knowledge (a probable function of stored product class information) appear to be better equipped to evaluate specific attributes of products that might be described in ads for high tech products. Self-assessed knowledge (a probable function of product class experience), on the other hand, deals with how much consumers believe they know about products. The latter form of knowledge may be an equally or even more important influence in guiding consumers to seek out advertising for products they consider purchasing.

Some limitations of this research should be noted. First, the range of product categories was, by necessity, narrow. Only four product categories were used as stimulus ads--camcorders, CD players, ink jet printers, and VCRs. These four were picked in an effort to make the results more generalizable to high-tech electronics products as a whole, yet although one may hope, it cannot be claimed with certainty that ads for other high-tech electronic products would be processed in the same way. More likely, however, is that ads for products that are outside the realm of high-tech electronics could be processed differently. Second, only one executional style (informational) was used. How these variables would operate in ads for high-tech products that might employ affective appeals is unclear. Finally, with the exception of the pretest questionnaire, all the measures for the experiment were collected during a single interview with each participant. Data for long term recall or enduring persuasive effects were not collected.

Although objective knowledge has a long history in consumer research, self-assessed knowledge measures are less widely used. In this study, both were beneficial to understanding how consumers process ads for high-tech products. Future research should explore the relationships between these two types of consumer knowledge in greater detail, investigating their differential effects across a variety of product categories, creative executional approaches, and media.

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The American Way to Menstruate:

Feminine Hygiene Advertising and Adolescent Girls

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The American Way to Menstruate:
Feminine Hygiene Advertising and Adolescent Girls

Abstract

75 Words

In American life, menstruation has been socially constructed as a problem--something shameful and dirty. This study explores the content of feminine hygiene advertising that targets pre-adolescent and adolescent girls in *Seventeen* and *Teen* magazines. The findings suggest that not only do the ads carry messages from the past about cleanliness based on societal taboos, but also contribute to girls' feelings about their bodies in preparation for participation in American consumer culture.

150 Words

As a conduit for personal information, advertising represents *a* version of reality, the contents of which are based on socially constructed values. In American life, menstruation has been socially constructed as a problem--something shameful and dirty. Pre-adolscent and adolescent girls learn to menstruate in a way that differs from their counterparts of earlier times with a focus on the external body and cultivation of brand preferences. Femininity is thought of as a commodity, available through purchase and subsequently concelaed through purchase.

This study examined the content of feminine hygiene advertising in *Seventeen* and *Teen magazines.* The findings suggest that not only do the ads carry messages from the past about cleanliness based on taboos, but also contribute to girls' feelings about their bodies in preparation for participation in American consumer culture. Hall's theory of ideology and Williamson's are used to provide a theoretical framework for interpreting these ads.

The American Way to Menstruate:
Feminine Hygiene Advertising and Adolescent Girls

In twentieth century America, pre-adolescent and adolescent girls learn to menstruate in a way that differs from their counterparts of earlier times. No longer confined to couches clutching hot water bottles, girls today are generally active during their periods. Although there has been a shift from inactive to active and from homemade to commercial products, Brumberg suggests that there has been an "unintended consequence" to this new-found freedom.[1] When they do begin to menstruate, girls and their mothers "typically think first about the external body--what shows and what doesn't rather than the emotional and social meaning of the maturational process."[2] This suggests that, consistent with other behaviors such as dieting, physical appearance is a primary concern.

For this paper, a content analysis of advertisements in *Seventeen* and *Teen* magazines was conducted over a ten-year period. The findings suggest that the contemporary response to menstruation, as presented in advertising, is based on age-old myths that contribute to a focus on the external body and contemporary standards of physical appearance while simultaneously developing brand loyalty through copy techniques. Hall's concepts of ideology and Williamson's structural analysis are employed as a theoretical foundation for interpreting the ads.[3]

Background

Symbolically marked in some cultures while hidden in others, a common theme surrounding menstruation is the transition to adulthood--the girl becomes a woman (and can become a mother). Known by a variety of names (the monthlies, a visit from Sophie) the onset of menses is anticipated as a sign of womanhood yet feared as a target of ostracism. In dated parlance, these beliefs or myths have been called "old wives tales." Those associated with menstruation are among the prevalent and persistent, for example:

- Menstruation is a sign of being unclean and in less-than-perfect health; therefore, during this time, a woman's touch should be avoided.

- Exercise (particularly swimming) should be avoided.
- Intercourse is dangerous to a woman's (and a man's) health during menstruation.
- Cold foods should be avoided.
- Women are physically vulnerable during their periods and therefore should curb regular activities.
- Neither permanent waves or dental fillings will take.[4]

Inspired by fear and often confused with defilement, taboos help order a society. A taboo "expresses itself essentially in prohibitions and restrictions" and can be defined as "forbidden and excluded persons, acts, words, thoughts, and things that supposedly threaten a group's welfare and survival and are, therefore, used to that group's advantage."[5] To remain stable a society needs order and dirt "offends against order."[6] Therefore, the "curse" is a taboo that presents menstruating women as "filthy, sick, unbalanced and ritually impure."[7]

As a society we have beliefs about separating, classifying, and organizing to create social structures designed to withstand natural disasters, punish transgressions, and demarcate. In many cases it is necessary to exaggerate differences in order to create a semblance of order. For example, distinctions between men and women are made visible and exaggerated through differences. Given that only women menstruate, the biological fact of blood determines their cultural and social distinction. Menstruation then becomes a hygienic, rather than maturational, issue. Lien points out that there is a type of "menstrual discrimination" that women are subjected to, a kind of "contempt and isolation."[8]

Sanitizing Puberty.

One of the reasons taboos dies so hard is that they are "rigorously taught to youngsters who dare not question them."[9] Menstruation has historically been, and is currently used as justification for preventing girls and women from fully participating in society, justifying control over them, and, in particular, over their sexuality. Puberty--the biological process--is a time of ambivalence when coupled with adolescence--the social and personal process. There is embarrassment and excitement, it is nasty, yet remains a "sweet secret" signifying the transition from girlhood to womanhood.[10]

Girls enter menses earlier than ever before. Changes in nutrition (better nourished girls are able to maintain body fat), growth hormones added to chicken and beef, and electricity (bodies, when exposed to sufficient light will enter puberty earlier) all contribute to this process.[11] Most American girls begin menstruating around age 13, although some begin as early as nine.[12] An already anxious time, most American girls are dealing their first period at the same time they're trying to adjust to seventh grade.[13]

Much of the fear associated with menses comes from the lack of input from parents.[14] When there is parental involvement, the information typically comes from the mother.[15] Several scholars have suggested that mothers often react after the fact, rather than preparing their daughters for the event, resulting in uncertainty and even trauma--an experience that reinforces the fundamental nature of taboo--bleeding, pain, fear, and the unknown.[16] Rodin relates Phillipa's story of her first period:

> In my family everybody was really private about their bodies. I was the only girl and when I had my first period my mother hurriedly handed me some sanitary napkins and mumbled some instructions. My brothers started laughing and making fun of me because they saw the box of sanitary napkins. I went to bed that night thinking my body was a curse.[17]

Over the past century the focus on menarche has gone from reproduction to appearances. According to Brumberg, "modern mothers typically stress the importance of outside appearances for their daughters: keeping clean, avoiding soiled clothes, and purchasing the 'right' equipment.' Hygiene, not sexuality, is the focus of maternal discussions with girls."[18] Coupled with messages that reinforce the beauty ideal of thinness, the psychological changes associated with menstruation also influence a girl's developing body image. Hayne describes the story of a girl who expressed a lack of confidence in, and dislike for, her developing body:

> Sometimes my body looks so bloated, I don't want to get dressed. I like the way I look for exactly two days each month . . . every other day my breasts, my stomach--they're just

awful lumps, bumps, bulges. My body can turn on me at any moment; it is an out-of-control mass of flesh.[19]

Certainly confusion about bodily changes is typical of adolescence. However, control of activities associated with that process is central to the socialization of adolescent girls. Menstruation clearly offers the opportunity for dominant culture to direct the attitudes, beliefs, and behavior of girls and consumer decision-making. In the modern world, the goal of many girls is to learn how to keep their bodies under control. This is often the case through dieting and when they are menstruating. Coming-of-age, thereby, becomes a "process to be worked out in the marketplace, rather than at home."[20]

Concerns about showing typically translate into the purchase of feminine hygiene products. Today, women live longer, menstruate earlier and for longer periods of time, and have fewer pregnancies than they did in the past. Having more periods thereby contributes to higher sales of related products. This process not only affects the economy, but also adolescent girls' lives as the body becomes "an intense project requiring careful scrutiny and constant personal control."[21] Unlike many other cultures, in American society menstruation has become more an economic than social ritual. In Africa, for example, movement of girls and women is often restricted during menstruation, confining them to menstrual huts. In the United States there are commonly no such community restrictions or rituals of inclusion or exclusion from social life. However, we do mark this event in a "distinctly American way."[22]

A century ago, mothers lengthened their daughters' skirts or allowed them to put up their hair; today, American girls and their mothers characteristically head for the mall, where coming-of-age is acted out through purchases--bras, lipsticks, high-heels, or 'grown-up' privileges such as ear piercing. Along with this behavior, when girls do being to menstruate, mothers typically make available to their daughters brands they themselves use. At this time brand loyalty is instilled, marking a connection with the marketplace through their mother's opinion leadership.

Theoretical Perspectives.

The information advertisers use to construct messages has behind it the weight of the dominant culture--the ideology. Ideology can be defined as "the mental frameworks--the languages, concepts, categories, images of thought, and the systems of representation--which different classes and social groups deploy in order to make sense of, define, figure out, and render intelligible the way society works."[23]

Becker adds to this definition by suggesting that ideology "governs the way we perceive our world and ourselves, it controls what we see as 'natural' or 'obvious." [24] Therefore, ideology has to do with the tools of the social system, such as language, imagery, institutions that influence thought and serve to stabilize beliefs among the masses and reinforce their subordinate place in the social system. Central to this way of making meaning is what a society perceives as 'natural.' Claims about naturalness serve ideology well because they are seen as the outcome of nature rather than culture. Thereby, what is thought of as normal is a central part of the "terrain of hegemony."[25] Advertisements for feminine hygiene products are "powerful weapons in an ideological battle for control of women's sexuality," and the "ideology of freshness is crucial to that battle."[26]

Due to the physical constraints of the media in which they appear, advertisements are capable of quickly defining a situation. In fact, it is critical to the success of an ad that it make an immediate connection to the audience by drawing upon shared meanings. By doing so, ads confer status, reinforce dominant belief systems, and, through signification, communication fundamental information. The tools used to do so are called referent systems.[27] These systems are part of the body of knowledge from which advertisers and audiences draw their materials and then turn these in to messages that reflect the views of the dominant society. These frames of reference are particularly important in understanding the socialization of adolescents who are in the process of constructing meaning to account for the world around them.

The Ideology of Menstruation.

As a conduit for personal information, advertising represents *a* version of reality, one that is vitally connected to dominant ideology. An advertisements is "both a marketing tool and a cultural artifact."[28] As the dominant view of menstruation equates it with being unclean, the message communicated to young women is one that endorses "women's medications" and "women's products." Menarche is portrayed as a "hygienic, rather than maturational crisis".[29] However, if femininity is thought of as a commodity and is available through purchase, then it is also possible to conceal femininity through purchase. If we accept the idea that advertisements reflect the dominant ideology of the society that produces them, it is important to look at the entire advertisement in terms of text, visuals, and context.

Previous Research

Most studies have investigated the menstrual experiences of American adolescent girls through personal interviews.[30] Other researchers have conducted interviews about menstruation internationally, in countries such as Bangladesh, the U.K., Italy, and Spain.[31] The findings of these studies are consistent with those in the United States--girls aren't receiving advice from their mothers, but continue to view menstruation as a shameful, dirty experience.

The use of educational materials in socializing girls to the preparation for and process of menstruation has been evaluated.[32] Typically these studies have found that the majority of films and slide presentations depict female anatomy, but do so through animation. Fear and embarrassment were acknowledged and openness with peers and female adults encouraged.

Additional work has come from the cultural studies tradition. Kaite presents a history of the feminine hygiene market and relates the development of products to women's involvement in World War I and the marketplace.[33] Treneman investigated the mythical imagery and text in feminine hygiene advertisements.[34] Kane looked at ideology of freshness in television commercials and Kissling interviewed adolescent girls, focusing on the communication strategies they use to violate taboos against menstrual communication.[35]

Studies of the *content* of print advertisements for feminine hygiene products is extremely limited. Havens and Swenson content analyzed advertisements for these products over a ten-year period in *Seventeen* magazine.[36] The researchers found that the ads present menstruation as a "hygienic crisis," encourage guilt, diminish self-esteem, and focus on the importance of peer support over that of adults. The present study not only adds to this limited literature, but analyzed the advertisements more extensively while providing a theoretical context for considering this information.

Method and Measures

Feminine hygiene and related medicine advertisements were content analyzed in two of the top-selling magazines targeted toward pre-adolescent and adolescent girls.[37] A twenty-five percent sample was taken over a ten-year period in *Seventeen* and *Teen* (1987-1997) yielding 33 issues each and 168 ads for tampons, panti-liners, pads, and related medicines (such as Midol). After duplicates were removed, 128 advertisements were analyzed.[38] All ads were coded by the researcher and a graduate student. An average inter-coder reliabilty rate of 96 percent was achieved.[39] To study the content of these advertisements, Havens' and Swenson's framework (described below) was used.[40]

Coding. Two central approaches were key to coding the ads in the Havens and Swenson study: (1) scientific and (2) athletic. Scientific themes included depictions of special designs (wings), schematics of a pad or tampon, special coverings (shields), or special sizes (slim). Athletic ads featured young women engaged in actives such as attending ballet class, swimming, bicycling, and gymnastics. A preliminary review of the ads for the current study revealed a new approach--stationary figure. In this case, the figure is simply standing or sitting, or otherwise posed, but not engaged in any activity. This approach was added to this category.

Each ad was analyzed for recurrent themes (text, context, tone). The text was analyzed for the dominant theme of the ad (fear, freedom, peace of mind, secrecy). Examples of context include making practical arrangements, being worried or embarrassed, feeling ill, or being in class. The tone of the ad identified whether it was written in a conversational style, used a role model, was humorous, or exuded self-confidence. In addition, method of presentation (cartoon, photograph), product features (comfort, ease of use, no bulk) and number and race of models were coded.

In terms of products advertised, 44 percent were for tampons, approximately one-third for pads (32 percent), 16 percent for medicines, and 8 percent for panti-liners. The leading advertisers were Tampax Tampons (28 percent), Always (25 percent), and Playtex (13 percent). The remaining third were spread among nine other advertisers.

Findings

A stationary figure was used in nearly half (46 percent). Examples include a girl sitting on a front porch, looking out a window, or sitting in a park. This approach was followed by the "other" category (44 percent). Ads were placed in this category that did not fit the others, such as product schemata or cartoons. Often these were entirely text. For example, Always offered a question and answer section called "Always Answers." Others used cartoon figures in mock discussions.

Nine percent of the ads employed the athletic approach. In these, girls typically wore leotards, leggings, or tight, and usually white, clothing. In some cases the ads focused on the buttocks and/or perennial area. For example, an ad for Always UltraPlus has the headline, "Introducing the No-Worry, No-Show Maxi" and features the buttocks of several young women in skirts, leotards, and shorts. Another Always ad features the bottom half of four girls wearing leotards and asks and asks, "Pop Quiz: Who's Wearing the Tampon?" In another ad, girls were shown at the beach, riding bicycles, at a pool party with guys, and frolicking at the beach. Scientific ads accounted for only 2 percent of this study. A StayFree UltraPlus pads ad showed a schemata of the product and the headline, "We Just Reduced the Accident Rate in America," suggesting the severity of the offense of showing.

Text, Context, and Tone.

Text is the dominant "voice" of the ad--what the headline or key topic of the advertisement emphasized as the theme. As Table 1 shows, Peace of Mind/Trust was the theme most often used in copy (40 percent). In fact, Trust is Tampax, is the slogan used by this major advertiser. In one of their ads, trust is emphasized as two young girls are shown bicycling and wearing tight, white jeans. In another, three girls and two young men are in a pool and the subhead reads, "Trust--It's Knowing No One Will Ever Know You've got Your Period. Period." Freedom is emphasized in ads such as one for O.B. tampons that features a young woman in a swimsuit and the headline, "Keep it Simple and Set Yourself Free." The copy describes how O.B. is designed to free a girl from applicators and bulk.

Secrecy was mentioned in the ads as well (6 percent). An example was found in the headline for StayFree Ultra Thin Tampons: "No One Ever Has to Know You Have Your Period." In a Tampax ad, a young woman is shown from behind in ballet class, speaking to a friend. She says, "Everyone will know I'm wearing a pad!" Not to worry, however, tampons come to the rescue.

The themes of fear and uncertainty were also used (6 percent). The fear appeal typically focused on virginity and the desire to retain it. In a Tampax ad, the young woman asks, "Are you sure I'll still be a virgin?" and another says, "Yes, You'll Still be a Virgin. No, We Won't Laugh." Uncertainty focused on fear of discomfort and product risk. A Tampax ad, for example, shows girls talking (at the beach) and one asks, "Are they hard to put in?" or a scene in the girls' rest room where one girl asks another, "Are you sure it won't hurt?"

TABLE 1
Theme (Text) of Ads

Theme	Frequency	Percent*
Peace of Mind/Trust	84	40
Comfort	61	29
Freedom	32	15
Secrecy	14	6
Fear	13	6
Other	9	4

*Numbers do not total 100% as ads mentioned several themes.

The context of the ads focused on fears of "showing" of being found out, about locating supplies "just in case" and having to leave class to check. Most ads focused on practical concerns. For example, an ad for Playtex Portables (shown fitting in to the pocket of a tight pair of jeans) had the headline, "It's New It's Neat and So Discreet." Always Slenders for Teens recognizes first day of high school jitters with the headline, "Smooth Moves for the Back-to-School Blues." Tampax tampons points out that, "You may do a lot of things to get noticed. Wearing a pad shouldn't be one of them." The copy elaborates on this by pointing gout that if a girl wears a pad, "you may just be announcing to everyone that you have your period. No matter how thin or 'discreet' they say they've made pads, can they stand up to a pair of leggings?"

Worries about signs of one's period showing were also contextual themes. For example, a Stayfree pad ad shows a young woman contemplating the answer to a test question and the headline reads, "Inside Info: 571,977 girls took the three-hour long S.A.T. last year. So your mind is on the math, not on your maxi, there's worry-free StayFree."

Another important component of the ad is the tone. For example, does the copy lecture, instruct, use humor, or a role model to communicate. Who addresses the reader?

In nearly all the ads (88 percent) the tone was conversational, such as the Tampax tampon ad where two young women are discussing virginity. The copy reads:

> I really wanted to use tampons but heard you had to be, you know, 'experienced.' I talked to my friend Lisa. Her mom was a nurse so I figured she'd know. Lisa told me she'd been using Petal Soft Plastic Applicator Tampax tampons since her very first period and she's a virgin. In fact, you can use them at any age and still be a virgin."

The remaining nine percent of the ads use a humorous approach. An example is an ad for Always with Channels that features cartoon illustrations in social and classroom settings. In a recent version, the female character, Trish, apparently keeps leaving the movie theater to check her pad but, because she's with the cutest guy there, she's terrified someone will steal him while she's away. At the same time he's wondering why girls insist on aisle seats--does he have bad breath? This was followed by role models (2 percent) and other (1 percent).

Table 2 describes product features. Protection was mentioned most often (69 percent). An example is a New Freedom pad ad that describes the "unique Center Protection System that helps direct fluid to the center." Product comfort followed (46 percent). An example is a Tampax tampon ad where Jade M.--16 (years) says, "It's a little like your first bra. After a while you forget you're even wearing it." A Playtex ad compares one brand of tampons with a cardboard applicator to their plastic one and the headline reads, "Hardware. Software."

Ease of use (43 percent) was found in Platex ads that said, "I thought tampons would be hard to use." No bulk (20 percent) was another consideration to the young women in another ad. One says to the other, "I hate pads--they're like wearing diapers." Another Tampax tampon ad shows a picture of Charcy E. age 18 from Merrimack College who says, "No, the tampon can't get lost, all you loose are those diapers."

TABLE 2
Product Features

Feature	Frequency	Percent*
Protection	89	69
Comfort	59	46
Ease of Use	44	43
Other	27	21
Lack of Bulk	26	20
Biodegradeable	13	12
Convenience	12	9

*Numbers do not total 100% as ads mentioned several themes.

In terms of presentation, photographs were used most often (78 percent). These ads featured girls, beach scenes, and chats between friends. This was followed by text-only advertisements with drawings (12 percent) and cartoons (9 percent).

Nearly half of the ads (42 percent) featured one young woman, followed by no models used (27 percent), and two models (18 percent). Five percent of the ads used five or more models. In terms of race, more than half of the models (52 percent) were white, followed by "other" (24 percent) which accounts for cartoon characters and text-only ads. This was followed by 11 percent of the ads that featured both a black and white model. It was impossible to determine race in 10 percent of the ads.

Discussion and Conclusion

Although few of us like to admit it, as consumers we increasingly rely on advertising for information. This is particularly true of adolescent girls who have fewer resources for gaining private information or may prefer not to confide in women older than themselves. In this way, advertising has become a forum for discussing personal matters--a kind of social guide. Despite the increased presence of hygiene advertising in broadcast and other media, and liberalization of body-related thinking, "menstruation has not been redefined as something positive."[41]

It is important to recognize that a goal of advertising is cultivating brand loyalty. Through feminine hygiene ads girls not only learn about the functioning of their bodies, but also how particular products are meant to help meet the needs of their developing bodies. The findings of this study suggest that ads for tampons, pads, panti-liners, and medicines are dominated by white women who deliver information about products while simultaneously discussing fears of bodily betrayal. Given that the mythology surrounding menstruation is laden with messages about being unclean, unsafe, and unwanted, the use of white models is hardly surprising. If what Hall and Williamson suggest is true, that the media present a vision of the world constructed to support the dominant social system, then the current array of feminine hygiene advertising that targets adolescent girls serves to reinforce an ideology that helps to define social roles and self esteem. In many ways the bodies of girls and women are given meaning that suggests that there are times when they are unattractive (if they are not thin or young) or are unclean (if they are menstruating). Further research could explore, through in-depth personal interviews, experiences of girls and women around menstruation, particularly their first experience.

Despite increased knowledge about how the female body functions, feminine hygiene advertising continues to present a world akin to the past. It may be a world where girls are permitted to ride bicycles when then menstruate and where skirts of any length, yet the ads serve as reminders that an active life is only possible through the purchase of a specific brand. Otherwise, these young women risk humiliation if any sign of their femaleness should seep through their clothing.

Consistent with other behaviors (dieting, taking drugs), having one's period is an activity to be kept secret from others. Typically, advertisements present a world where everyone is thin, white, glamorous, and having fun. Unlike earlier studies that showed sanitary napkins to be the most advertised products to teens and pre-teens, tampons now dominate the $2 billion a year sanitary protection category.[42] These ads continue to present issues associated with loss of virginity and pain as part of tampon use, an activity that literally internalizes this bodily activity.

A potentially positive finding is that adolescent girls are now shown simply talking about menstruation (as opposed to scientific or athletic approaches). They are shown talking with one another (rather than mothers), which does represent the fact that mothers are not as involved in their daughters periods as are her friends. In addition, the ads present information in a conversational tone offering information about the protection the products will give, that they will be comfortable, and easy to use. Practical concerns about concealing signs of menstruation, finding supplies, and offering assurance of little risk to being away from home are addressed. Granted, these are concerns to every woman and girl who menstruates. However, the repercussions of being found out are socially constructed and reinforced in advertising. Future research could content analyze advertisements over a longer historical time period.

If one looks to advertising for some indication of social change for girls and women, it is not likely to be found in feminine hygiene ads. Consistent with those from the past, today's ads typically feature one white model demonstrating the freedom available to a girl, peace of mind and access to the world outside if she purchases a particular brand. The private thereby becomes public. This approach is consistent with the tenets of ideology that suggest one's view of the world outside is a product of the dominant social system. Despite the often held belief that advertising is somehow on the cutting edge of culture, this study suggests that feminine hygiene ads are behind the curve in terms of how a girl is instructed to learn what society expects of them and how, as women, they are expected to look, feel, behave, and how they can expect to be treated by others--particularly men.

Perhaps due to the availability of birth control the significance of a girl's period has changed, but the weight of the culture remains behind how this event is perceived and how a sense of self develops. Self-esteem becomes intimately connected with body image, one increasingly prescribed by the media.

NOTES

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Advertising Educators' Textbook Adoption Practices

by

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Advertising Educators' Textbook Adoption Practices

Abstract

This article reports a national survey of advertising educators that examined their advertising textbook adoption practices as well as well as the importance of ancillary materials as desirable attributes of textbooks. Textbooks were used by most of the respondents. Although content is a very important adoption criterion in all courses, in courses that provided ancillary materials such as Introduction to Advertising, the availability of multimedia teaching aids becomes an important criterion and possibly the major source of high satisfaction among the adopters. Among ancillary materials, video clips were the most wanted item in advertising courses.

Advertising Educators' Textbook Adoption Practices

Textbooks play an important role in student learning. A good textbook can enhance a student's ability to effectively deal with essential skills, concepts and content of a particular course of study (Nitsche, 1992). Selection of textbooks should be responsive to learner characteristics and course objectives (Bunda, 1992: Martin, 1992). However, it has been taken for granted that faculty members know how to select a good textbook that will best serve the learning of the course content for students. No systematic study is available on how college educators actually select their textbooks, especially in the field of advertising, a dynamic field that requires constant updates.

Significance of the Study

This study is an initiative to enhance the mutual understanding between publishers and advertising educators on improving textbooks for advertising courses. Writing a textbook is a common way for many faculty members of second-tier university to advance their careers (Martin, 1992). Although the learning outcome of textbooks is important, publishers evaluate the success of a textbook by how many faculty members adopt it. College textbook sales is estimated to reach $2.8 billion by 1999 (*Media Daily*, 1996). The growth of the used book market, the escalating costs in preparing a college textbook (Levenson, 1995), and the merger-mania among textbook publishers (Turner, 1992) are among some of the major factors discouraging publishers to take risks. Publishers need the profit incentive to continue a textbook and its revised edition. But as Turner (1992) notes, publishers and faculty members rarely communicate to each other to update research findings and market trends. It is therefore essential to understand whether faculty members adopt books based on criteria that will foster learnability of textbooks or other factors that may lower the learnability of textbooks. Moreover, any misunderstanding of textbook adoption criteria will lead to a wrong direction in the preparation of textbooks for authors and may result in a disastrous sales performance to publishers.

Literature Review

Current research on college textbook usage lacks a national scope and a trend analysis. They are either proprietary market studies conducted by individual publishers or case studies of a particular course (Killian et al., 1987; Smith, 1994). The studies conducted by education researchers have only focused on the design and layout of a textbook in improving student learning such as usage of illustrations and other paralinguistic, construction instruction devices such as headings and summaries (e.g., Britton et al., 1993; Houghton & Willows, 1987; Levin & Mayers, 1993; Woodward, 1993). Although they generally found that a better layout and well-organized texts can improve students' learning, whether instructors used the layout and readability as textbook adoption criteria is unknown. Students' poor evaluation on textbooks (Bryant & Lindeman, 1995) indicates that many textbooks are not written in a student-friendly manner that motivates students to learn from textbooks. One can indirectly infer from this finding that faculty members may not use writing and design of a textbook as a major selection criterion.

Based on Bartlett et al.'s (1991) comparison of textbook evaluation criteria between instructors and students, this study proposed that textbook adoption criteria can be grouped into four categories by their orientation: 1) Student-oriented, 2) instructor-oriented 3) external, and 4) problematic. Student-oriented criteria are criteria that are considered by students as important such as low cost of the book and easy to read. Instructor-oriented criteria are criteria that enable the faculty to prepare the class more effectively such as comprehensive information, multimedia teaching aids, and instructor's manuals. External criteria are criteria that influenced or determined by people other than the instructor such as department's tradition and recommendation by other colleagues. Problematic criteria are criteria of questionable ethics such as adopting self-written or fellow colleague-written textbooks (Fay & Stryker, 1992).

As technology advances, teaching aids accompanying textbooks increasingly employ high technology. Many college textbook publishers team up with computer software companies to create computer-based multimedia teaching aids (Levenson, 1995). Although Anderson (1993) criticizes current ancillary materials that accompany textbooks cannot promote higher order learning because they only focus on concrete, disconnected facts and skills, many instructors may see them as time-saving devices and audio-visual materials that can attract students' attention in class. Since such teaching aids will affect the cost of textbooks and probably the learning outcomes of the students, it is necessary to examine the interest of faculty members in such multimedia teaching aids.

Research Questions

1. How prevalent are textbooks used in advertising courses?
2. What are the textbook adoption criteria in each course? Are they similar across courses or different? What is the predominant orientation of the adoption criteria?
3. How important is multimedia technology in influencing textbook selection and

satisfaction?

4. What are the desirable attributes of future advertising textbooks?

Research Method

Questionnaire Design

This study employed a mail survey to collect data on advertising educators' textbook adoption criteria for the advertising courses they taught in the past two years and their satisfaction toward the textbooks that they adopted. Textbooks were defined as books that students are required to use in a course. The items on textbook adoption criteria and causes of dissatisfaction were based on Bunda's (1992) suggested list of textbook selection criteria. The questionnaire was pre-tested with two advertising faculty members. Opinion of an acquisition editor of a major textbook publisher was also sought in finalizing the questionnaire. Because of the numerous possible combinations of courses that a faculty might teach, the questionnaire was designed in a way that the first question became the reference page for all the courses that indicated the directions to the locations of corresponding questions to specific courses in the questionnaire. A respondent only needed to refer their answers in the first question for locating the different questions corresponding to the individual course.

Most of the questions were in close-ended format to reduce the effort that the respondent needed to take in answering the questions. Multiple response to the adoption criteria were allowed and respondents were asked to rank the importance of the criteria is they selected more than one on the list. To facilitate respondents to elaborate their answers, additional space was provided for items such as "inadequate information," "other reasons" for adoption and dissatisfaction, and "other advertising courses" that they had taught apart from the seven listed advertising courses.

The mailing package consisted of a cover letter, a questionnaire booklet and a business reply envelope with the sample's code on it. The questionnaire booklet was eight-page long with the covering page decorated with an appealing visual and a headline, "Do you want to have a good textbook for your class?"

Sampling and Procedures

The sampling frame of the survey consisted of U.S. members of the American Academy of Advertising (AAA), the largest association of advertising educators in the nation. It was selected as the sampling frame because advertising courses can be taught in both marketing departments and journalism departments. The AAA is the only association for advertising educators that consists of members from both departments. The first mailing was sent to 615 U.S. members of the Academy between October 24 to October 26 which was not a busy period for college instructors. To entice participation, the author posted e-mail announcements in two major advertising and marketing electronic discussion groups, ADFORUM and ELMAR. Apart from the general announcement of the survey, members of those groups who were not AAA members were urged to volunteer their participation. As a result, four more responses were solicited.

Several respondents informed the author that they were not teaching advertising courses so that they could not respond. All of them were teaching in marketing departments. Some were retirees. The author then realized that the sampling frame was not as clean as it was expected. The roster had some retirees and a lot of college professors who were interested in advertising, but not advertising educators. This was especially so with professors in marketing departments. The AAA did not distinguish its members between those who were teaching advertising and those who were not. Many addresses were home addresses, hence the author had no way to examine the employment status of the respondents. Realizing this situation and also in light of budget limitations, only 200 additional questionnaires were sent in the second mailing to non-respondents who had a clear departmental affiliation, wrote a textbook before, or taught at journalism or communication department. Non-respondents were identified by the code assigned to each questionnaire. By November 20, a second mailing was sent to non-respondents to remind them to participate with a new cover letter, the original questionnaire booklet, and a business reply envelope.

Knowing that a considerable number of advertising faculty members might not be members of professional associations, an additional survey was conducted to reach faculty members who were not AAA members. The second wave of the survey employed a mailing list supplied by the Copy Workshop, an advertising book publisher. The sampling frame consisted of names that did not duplicate from the AAA membership roster with a total of 188 faculty members. The mailing was conducted in early February, 1997.

Results

Profile of Respondents

A total of 265 responses (214 from AAA membership list, 51 from the Copy Workshop mailing list) were obtained from the study, yielding a response rate of 33%. A summary of the respondents' profile is listed in Table 1. Most of the respondents were from the "J" schools--communication departments, journalism and mass communication departments, and advertising departments (58%), only 25 percent of the respondents were from marketing departments (Table 1). There were more male respondents (62%) than female respondents (38%). The number of years that they had taught advertising ranged from less than one year to 41 years, with an average of 11 years and a standard deviation of 8.87 years. Male respondents had significantly more teaching experience than female respondents (mean difference = 5 years, $t = 4.3$, $p < 0.01$). A large majority of them were full-time faculty members (90%). Only 10 percent were part-time faculty members. Among the 265 respondents, 45 were textbook authors.

[Table 1 about here]

The course that most respondents had taught was Advertising Management/Advertising Campaigns. More than one half of the respondents had taught it. The next most commonly taught course was Introduction to Advertising. Creative Strategies/Copy and Layout ranked third in frequency. The least taught course among the seven courses on the list was International Advertising. Only 15 respondents have taught that course.

In terms of settings, most of the respondents (70%) taught at public universities. Many respondents carried a teaching load between two to three courses a semester (67.5%). From the courses that they checked in the questionnaire, many seemed to specialize in a few courses and taught them repeatedly over time. Eighty-seven percent of the respondents taught no more than three different courses in two years.

Textbooks Usage in Advertising Courses

Textbooks were widely used in many advertising courses, especially at lower level courses. Among the respondents, only seven did not use a textbook in Introduction to

Advertising, only three did not use any textbooks in Advertising Media and Advertising Research, seven did not use a textbook in Creative Strategy. Senior level courses such as Advertising Campaigns, Advertising and Society have the highest percentage of instructors not using textbooks. Yet their percentage is still much less than half of the instructors teaching the courses.

Textbook Adoption Criteria

Although a ranking option was given to respondents on textbook adoption criteria, many only chose one criterion only and some forgot to rank the importance of the criteria after checking more than one item. Therefore, only those items checked by respondents were used to assess their textbook adoption criteria. Respondents' adoption criteria were very similar across courses, except in the Introduction to Advertising course where multimedia teaching aids was an important criterion for adoption (Table 2). One half of those teaching that course said that they chose the titles because of the accompanying multimedia teaching aids. Among all the seven courses being listed, the comprehensiveness of information in the textbook was the most commonly used criterion for adoption. This indicates that content of the textbook is a very important factor in choosing a textbook. Recommendation from other colleagues was not a criterion at all for Advertising Research and Advertising and Society, but it played a more significant role in Introduction to Advertising.

[Table 2 about here]

Students' interests seemed to be generally overlooked in respondents' selection of textbooks. Respondents cared much less about the cost of the book and whether the book is easy to read for students. Introduction to Advertising and Creative Strategy were the only two courses that half of the respondents used "easy to read for students" as a criterion of selection. Only one respondent reported conducting a test of five books and asked students' opinion before choosing the textbook.

Other reasons of adoption that were mentioned by the respondents include "used the book as a student," "the most recent book available," "famous authors," "the only text available," "written by practitioners," "good professional insight," "similar to my philosophy," "good exercises," "fun-eclectic" and "cases." Being the co-authors, authors or co-editors of the books were also reasons for adoption. Remarkably, there were some instructors who showed strong preference for textbooks written by practitioners. Those books were viewed as more current and close to the real world.

Satisfaction of Textbooks

Generally, many instructors showed dissatisfaction toward the textbooks that they adopted as shown in Table 3. Only respondents teaching Introduction to Advertising and Creative Strategy were quite satisfied with the textbooks. Respondents were much more dissatisfied as the level of the course progresses. Advertising Campaign has 38% of the instructors dissatisfied with the textbooks, Advertising and Society has 47% of the instructors dissatisfied with the textbooks. The two courses with the highest occurrence of dissatisfaction were International Advertising (80%) and Advertising Research (63%). Notably, all these books come with little or no ancillary materials except the computer software in some Advertising Media textbooks.

[Table 3 about here]

Respondents were probed for the causes of their dissatisfaction. As shown in Table 4, inadequate information was a major reason for their dissatisfaction in most of the courses, except Advertising and Society. Only a few respondents complained about the high cost of textbooks. The problem of inadequate information was most apparent in Advertising Research (44%) and Creative Strategy (45%). Some complaints include "print production not covered, " "not comprehensive," "need more background," "need more perspectives on idea generation," "covers wrong things" in Creative Strategy; "nothing on Latin America" and "minimal country information" in International Advertising. A respondent teaching Advertising Media wanted more in-depth coverage of some topics such as "use of computer in media planning," another criticized about "little information on strategic use of non-traditional or new media" and one criticized the text as "too complex." Instructors of Advertising Research especially complained about outdated information in the books.

Textbook satisfaction is associated with the teaching load of the instructor. An analysis of the data show that the heavier the teaching load of the instructor, the more likely the instructor was dissatisfied with the textbook ($r = .15, p = 0.03$). The respondent's teaching experience, gender, and interest in media technology have no significant relationship with textbook satisfaction.

Importance of Multimedia Technology in Textbook Adoption

To assess the importance of teaching aids in adopting textbooks and to identify the desirable attributes of future textbooks, respondents were asked to pick from a list of eight ancillary items as the wish list in their course of interest. This question has a lot of missing data because almost half of the respondents did not answer it. They might have overlooked this questions after filling out the questions on each course. Among those that responded, many showed strong interest in multimedia ancillary materials to accompany their textbooks.

As shown in Table 5, the most desirable ancillary item was video clips, showing that many instructors need advertising examples on video to show to the class in their courses. The next popular item was on-line update using the World Wide Web or e-mail. This corresponds to the concern about currency of the information in textbooks. Computer software and color transparencies were also highly wanted items because faculty members have limited resources to produce them but they could be very effective learning tools for students. Low-tech ancillary items such as workbooks, instructor's manuals and answer guides were also desirable to many instructors. These are time-saving devices for and guidance to instructors in teaching the courses. Some respondents suggested some creative ideas in using technology for their course such as "transparencies on disk ready to import into Power Point," "on-line chat rooms with professionals," and "database model." Some suggested improvement on the texts such as "more comprehensive texts with software," and "more technology materials in planning and buying" for the media course. One respondent particularly appreciated instructor's manual, saying that "Instructor's manual very important.. .I always modify these (suggestion questions), but still find them helpful."

The interest in multimedia teaching aids of faculty was measured by the number of items checked in the question on a wish list of textbooks. There were no significant differences in the interest in multimedia teaching aids between male and female respondents (t = -.91, n.s.) or between full-time and part-time instructors.

There were a few respondents who did not see any value of the ancillary materials presented in the wish list. One said, "It's all trivial." Two respondents expressed concern for possible price increase caused by using ancillary materials. One said, "All this crap, which I think few of us use, causes students to pay $65 for an intro text course. It's unreasonable." Another one said, "All of these hike price of text too high for students." One respondent explained why he thought the quality of the ancillary materials was poor: "Most of the ancillary materials and test questions for these books are not as good as they might be because the publishers are not willing to pay reasonable fees for those materials."

Conclusion

This survey shows that textbooks have been widely used in all advertising courses, especially in the introductory course and skill courses such as creative strategies and media planning. Even though higher level courses rely much less on textbooks, still a majority of the instructors used textbooks. One can infer from the high percentage of textbook adoption in a specialized subject such as International Advertising that instructors need the guidance of textbooks to structure the course and provide reference materials to students.

Among the four types of adoption criteria, instructor-oriented criteria seems to be most prevalent as shown in the popularity of comprehensiveness of information. Comprehensiveness is more to the benefit of the instructor in preparing the class than to the benefit of the students who may feel overwhelmed by too many materials and lose their focus in the course. Future research may compare the comprehensiveness of textbook in enhancing or hindering student learning of the subject matter. Most instructors in advertising have high autonomy in choosing textbooks. Very rarely was textbook adoption dictated by the department or other instructors. Therefore, external factor was not an important criterion at all. The good news is that publishers can focus on individuals in marketing textbooks. The bad news is that a lot of selfish reasons can become an adoption criterion such as being the author of the book. This study also reveals that some instructors indeed used such problematic criteria of questionable ethics in practice. Student-oriented criteria, such as easy to read for students and the cost of the book, were not high on the agenda of the adopters.

Content of a book seems to be a very important criterion in adoption; but as shown in the responses toward introductory textbooks, half of the respondents chose the book based on multi-media ancillary materials such as videotapes, computer software and color transparencies. Their satisfaction toward the texts of this course was also the highest among all other courses. In other advertising courses, they could not use ancillary materials as a criterion of adoption because very few provided those materials. Another evidence of the instructor's strong desire for multimedia ancillary materials can be shown in the wish list that many respondents, regardless of teaching experience, selected multimedia teaching aids such as video-clips, on-line update, color transparencies which are difficult to be prepared by an individual professor. Publishers can assist instructors to develop these ancillary materials (just as the same as developing textbooks) and sell them to the instructor as stand-alone materials or accompanying a textbook adoption.

Other problems in faculty adoption of textbooks that warrants further investigation are that that faculty members may not know the existence of other textbook titles available or keep on using the textbook over the years for ease of preparation. In this study, only a few of the instructors indicated in the survey that they have switched the textbook (the switching mostly occurred in Advertising Campaigns, Advertising Media, and International Advertising). To keep instructors aware of the alternatives is an important step to market a text successfully. Publishers need to take extra effort to inform faculty members the latest update of their textbooks and present their textbooks as possible alternatives to their currently used ones. As the college market is well-defined, more communication channels should be developed between instructors and publishers so that one can know the needs of the other.

This study reveals the general dissatisfaction of faculty members toward advertising textbooks at senior levels. Faculty members should be more involved in the publishing process of textbooks. Apart from serving as textbook reviewers, faculty members should combine their efforts to provide collective input to publishers so that they would know what faculty members really need in preparing the best textbooks for their classes. To improve the quality of textbooks, experienced and knowledgeable instructors on a subject should be encouraged by the college adminstration for writing textbooks. Standards should be established to evaluate the quality of a textbook so that the faculty member would gain recognition for writing a good textbook for a course. The four types of adoption criteria employed in this study may serve as a guideline to establish such standards.

Finally, the lack of a complete list of advertising instructors in colleges posed a barrier to obtain a truly representative sample in this study. Professional associations of educators such as the American Academy of Advertising and the Advertising Division of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication should take an initiative to collect a complete database of advertising instructors. Such a database will facilitate the exchange of ideas and the dissemination of advertising education information that will be beneficial to the development of advertising education.

Table 1

A Profile of the Respondents

Department	**% (n=265)**
Advertising	19.6
Communication	11.3
Journalism and Mass Communication	27.2
Marketing	24.9
Other/Dual Appointments	6.4
Missing	10.6
Courses Taught	
Advertising Campaigns/ Management	54.3
Introduction to Advertising	52.8
Creative Strategy/Copy and Layout	27.6
Advertising Media	19.2
Advertising and Society	14
Advertising Research	11.3
International Advertising	5.7
Other subjects (e.g., IMC, Graphics, Media Sales, Promotion Management)	20.7
Not teaching any advertising courses	14
University type	
Private University	14.7
Public University	69.8
Liberal Arts College	3.8
Community College	1.1
Missing	10.6

Table 2

Textbook Selection Criteria*

	Intro % (n=140)	Media% (n=51)	Research % (n=31)	Creative % (n=88)	Campaign % (n=144)	Ad & Society % (n=37)	International % (n=15)
Multimedia teaching aids	46	10	0	2	0.05	0	0
Instructor's manual	31	24	6	3	10	0	0
Low cost	7	6	13	23	13	11	7
Comprehensive information	**58**	**57**	**45**	43	**45**	**32**	**53**
Easy to read	42	33	**45**	**57**	31	19	27
Recommended by other colleagues	17	27	0	22	14	5	20
Tradition	16	18	13	17	11	8	0
Other reasons	23	16	19	23	15	19	33

* Multiple-response item

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Table 3

Textbook Satisfaction by Course*

Course	**% Dissatisfied**
International Advertising	80
Advertising Research	63
Advertising & Society	47
Advertising Campaigns	38
Advertising Media	31
Creative Strategy	30
Introduction to Advertising	28

* Multiple-response item

Table 4

Causes of Dissatisfaction toward Textbooks*

Causes	Intro (n=37) %	Media (n=17) %	Research (n=18) %	Creative (n=25) %	Campaign (n=34) %	Ad & Society (n=9) %	International (n=8) %
Outdated information	16	29	**44**	18	24	22	0
Poorly written	22	29	22	27	24	22	13
Lack of instructor's manual	0	18	33	27	36	**33**	50
Lack of teaching aids	16	**35**	39	32	**48**	**33**	**63**
Inadequate information	19	24	**44**	**45**	40	11	25
Other reasons	**54**	29	17	23	24	**33**	13

* Multiple-response item

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Table 5

A wish list of textbooks for the 21st century

Attributes	Frequency
Video clips	117
On-line update	96
Computer software	85
Color transparencies	80
Workbooks	64
Instructor's manual	63
Answer guide	55
Others	23

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